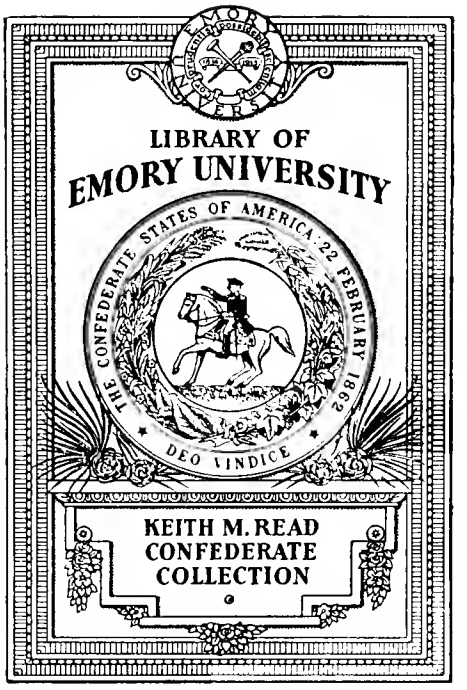
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OF THE

ASSEMBLY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH SESSION.

1904.

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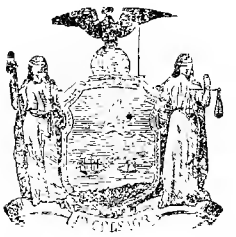

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Maj. Genl U S V

In Memoriam

Henry Warner Slocum

1826-1894

Published by Authority of the State of New York, Under the Supervision of the New York Monuments Commission

ALBANY
J. B. LYON COMPANY, PRINTERS
1904

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Engineer and Secretary

NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION

FOR THE

BATTLEFIELDS OF GETTYSBURG AND CHATTANOOGA

23 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

February 1, 1904

To His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York

Sir: — Pursuant to the provisions of chapter 600, Laws of 1903, the New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefields of Gettysburg and Chattanooga has the honor to submit herewith its report of the exercises held at the dedication of the equestrian statue at Gettysburg, erected in honor of Major-General HENRY W. SLOCUM, to which has been added a biography of his life and a history of the corps which served under his command.

Yours obediently

DANIEL E. SICKLES

Chairman

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In Memoriam

Henry Warner Slocum

Introductory

A MEETING of the New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefield of Gettysburg was held April 17, 1894, to take some appropriate action touching the death of Major-General Henry W. Slocum, one of its members, who died at his residence in Brooklyn, N. Y., on Saturday, April 14, 1894. The following preamble and resolutions, offered by General Sickles, Chairman, were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, This Board has learned with profound sorrow of the sudden decease of our colleague, Major-General Henry Warner Slocum; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to enter upon the minutes this expression of our sense of the bereavement we have suffered; and we unite with our comrades of the Union Army, and especially the surviving veterans of the State of New York, in placing on record our appreciation of the distinguished military services of the deceased and the high standard of rectitude and honor which marked all his conduct in his civil life;

Resolved, That this Board, as a body, attend the funeral of General Slocum, to-day, in Brooklyn.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the widow and family of the deceased.

A bill was prepared by his surviving colleagues of the Gettysburg Commission, providing for the expenditure of twenty-five thousand dollars ($25,000) for placing an equestrian statue of General Slocum on the Battlefield of Gettysburg. Hon. John Raines, on February 5, 1895, introduced this bill in the State Senate, and it was referred to the Committee on Finance.

The Common Council of the City of Brooklyn, on December 10, 1894, adopted a resolution recommending to the State Legislature the erection of a statue at Gettysburg to General Slocum.

Senator Raines again introduced, on January 23, 1896, a similar bill to that of the previous year, which was passed with some amendments March 30, 1896, becoming a law April 4, 1896, with the approval of the Governor.

At a meeting of the Board, held April 25, 1896, the action of the Legislature was reviewed by the Chairman, who advised his colleagues that he considered the proper location for the statue an important feature, and a visit to the battlefield by a Committee of the Legislature would afford an opportunity to get their views on the selection of a site; also for the inspection of the work already done at Gettysburg by this Commission. This suggestion was embodied in the following action:

Resolved, That the Chairman be and is hereby authorized to invite fourteen members of the Legislature, including the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the Assembly — the members of each house to be designated by the presiding officer, respectively — to visit the Battlefield of Gettysburg, as the guests of the Commissioners, and advise them in the selection of a site for the bronze equestrian statue to Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, deceased, provided for by Chapter 203, Laws of 1896, and also to inspect the work already done on said field under the direction of the Gettysburg Commissioners.

In pursuance thereto, the Commissioners, accompanied by the Legislative party selected by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the Assembly, left New York for Gettysburg on May 1, 1896, returning May third. The location where the monument is erected was chosen on this occasion.

Subsequently, A. J. Zabriskie, Engineer, with Major Richardson, of the National Park Commission, who is also a member of this Board, designated the boundaries of a plot about 100 feet

square, embracing the above mentioned site, which was surveyed by the Engineer of the National Park Commission and the result traced on a map at the office of the New York Commission. This tracing was forwarded to the National Park Commission for their approval of the site and for that of the Secretary of War, which was given January 19, 1899, as per endorsement on the map now on file at the office of the Secretary of the State of New York.

Invitations were extended, from time to time, to submit a design for the Slocum statue, to such sculptors as had expressed a desire to offer sketch models for the work. These models began to reach the office of the Commission during the early part of 1897, and in April of that year they were set up in a large room at their office. Ten models, the majority of them about three-fourths of an inch to a foot, the work of nine sculptors, were examined frequently by members of the Board; and, at a meeting held June 15, 1897, the relative merits of the respective designs were fully discussed. It was apparent from the opinions expressed, that while each model possessed points worthy of favorable commendation, no one of them was altogether satisfactory. The Chairman was, therefore, authorized to invite the artists to submit other designs. At the request of several sculptors, the Construction Committee, at a meeting August 31, 1897, extended the time for the reception of designs to October 11, 1897.

As a result of the action of the Commission, at their meeting June 15, 1897, and of further inquiries on the part of other artists, eighteen models, from seventeen sculptors, were submitted and placed on exhibition in a large room. Each of the models was numbered, and in the examination and balloting which followed, the name of the sculptor was not identified with his work, nor known except to the Engineer of the Commission. These models received careful inspection.

The Board met December 10, 1897, for the formal inspection and discussion of the various designs. After a series of balloting, the question of cost upon the lines indicated in the several designs that received favorable consideration was next taken up, and the Chairman and Engineer were instructed to invite proposals from five sculptors for furnishing a full-sized plaster model, about one and

a half life size, and to make inquiries from bronze founders as to the probable cost of casting the same.

These estimates were submitted by the Chairman to his colleagues, at a Board meeting held December 28, 1897, when the terms of the several propositions were fully canvassed and attention given to the probable cost of an appropriate pedestal. It was found that the money available from the present appropriation would provide an insufficient sum for a suitable pedestal. This question was taken up at a meeting of the Board, January 6, 1898, at which time the Chairman stated that he called together those of his colleagues who were in the city, to confer with them before making application to the Legislature for an additional appropriation.

The design of Mr. Edward C. Potter having been adopted by the Commissioners, and his proposal accepted by the Board, a contract, bearing date of January 18, 1898, was duly executed by him and the Chairman, on behalf of this Board.

Mr. Potter shortly after began the preparation of a one-third size model, as stipulated by the contract, and at the invitation of the Commission, several members of the family of General Slocum and intimate friends inspected the model at Mr. Potter's studio in New York. It was likewise critically examined, from time to time, by members of the Board and the Engineer. The Construction Committee, on January 19, 1899, made a formal examination, upon notification of the completion of the model by Mr. Potter, and expressed their approval of it.

A design for the pedestal was prepared by the Engineer, under the direction of the Chairman, at the office of the Commission. This design was accepted at a meeting of the Board, December 27, 1900, after a full discussion. Tenders for the various parts of the contemplated work were submitted at this meeting and referred to the Construction Committee, which canvassed the bids January 21, 1901. A contract, bearing date April 6, 1901, was executed with C. E. Tayntor & Co., for the construction and erection of the pedestal of Barre granite. The foundation of the pedestal was put in by George W Lady & Son, of Gettysburg. An additional sum of five thousand dollars ($5,000) was appropriated by Chapter 645, Laws of 1901.

THE SLOCUM MONUMENT.

View from easterly side. Citizens Cemetery in right background; buildings in left middleground are on Baltimore Pike.

The full-sized model of the statue was inspected from time to time, as the work progressed, at the studio of Mr. Potter, at Enfield, Mass., by members of the Board and the Engineer. The final inspection of the plaster model, by the Chairman, took place on February 1, 1901, at Enfield, Mass.

The contract for the statue in bronze was awarded by the Chairman to the Gorham Manufacturing Company, and was dated June 10, 1901.

On May 7, 1901, the work of construction of the foundation was begun. Its dimensions are twenty-two feet long by sixteen feet two inches wide and six feet four inches deep, composed of a monolith of concrete five feet high, capped with a course of dimension stone sixteen inches thick, of Gettysburg granite. The Barre granite for the pedestal was delivered at Gettysburg, November 19–December 10, 1901, and on May 8, 1902, the work of setting the granite was begun. The large granite cap was placed in position July 29, 1902.

Mr. Potter, the sculptor, and Engineer Zabriskie, visited the foundry of the Gorham Manufacturing Company, at Providence, several times during the progress of the casting and finishing of the statue. On Saturday, August 2, 1902, General Sickles and several of his colleagues of the Board, Mr. Potter, and the Engineer, visited the foundry for a final inspection of the statue before shipping to Gettysburg. The Board expressed their satisfaction with the work, which reached Gettysburg on August 13, and was set in place August 18, 1902. The contract for the bronze tablets on the pedestal was awarded to the Gorham Manufacturing Company who executed the contract with this Commission on June 24, 1902. On September third, the work of placing tablets in position was completed.

Arrangements were made in August, 1902, through Major Richardson, for the labor and material required for grading around the base of the pedestal, which was later covered with fine limestone screenings, for its protection and to better its general appearance during the period of dedication.

The general dimensions of the granite pedestal are twenty-one feet eight inches long, fifteen feet ten inches wide, and sixteen feet three and one-half inches high, divided into ten courses. The

bronze statue, including plinth, is fifteen feet six inches to the top of the head of the rider; the plinth measuring eleven feet nine and three-quarter inches long by four feet wide. The bronze letter tablets on the sides of the granite pedestal are each four feet nine and three-quarter inches wide by three feet ten and one-eighth inches high. Total cost $29,941.57. Amount appropriated $30,000.

Important parts of the work having been awarded and its completion assured without question by the autumn of 1902, the matter of an appropriate dedication at that time received the attention of the Chairman, early in that year, and its proposed plan and scope in general terms tentatively outlined.

General Sickles visited Albany, March 17, 1902, and conferred with His Excellency the Governor, and members of the Finance Committee of the Senate and the Ways and Means Committee of the House, explaining his plans and expressing his desire to procure an appropriation for the transportation of survivors of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps, the Governor and his staff and an escort of the National Guard, the family of General Slocum, and the incidental expenses connected therewith. A draft of an item to be placed in the Supplemental Supply Bill, embodying the views of the Chairman, was submitted by him upon the occasion of another visit to Albany, March 24, 1902, which draft was later revised on his return to New York, as a result of this visit, and the revised draft forwarded the following morning to the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate.

The item, as amended, was placed in the Supplemental Supply Bill, which became a law, with the approval of the Governor, April 15, 1902. This act provided $12,500 for the transportation to Gettysburg of fifty survivors of each of the New York regiments belonging to the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps, together with the Governor and staff and the family of General Slocum. The Chairman designated September nineteenth–twentieth as the dates for the dedication of the monument, which was ratified by the Board at its meeting May 5, 1902, and Friday, September nineteenth, was fixed as the date for the dedication ceremonies.

The Board authorized the Chairman to proceed with the necessary arrangements to carry out the provisions of the act.

From official sources, it was learned that nineteen New York

regiments of infantry and five batteries of artillery belonged to the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps, as follows: Twenty-eighth, Forty-fifth, Fifty-eighth, Sixtieth, Sixty-eighth, Seventy-eighth, One Hundred and Second, One Hundred and Seventh, One Hundred and Nineteenth, One Hundred and Twenty-third, One Hundred and Thirty-fourth, One Hundred and Thirty-sixth, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, One Hundred and Forty-first, One Hundred and Forty-third, One Hundred and Forty-fifth, One Hundred and Forty-ninth, One Hundred and Fiftieth and One Hundred and Fifty-fourth New York Infantry, Batteries I, K, M, First N. Y. Light Artillery, and the Tenth and Thirteenth Independent Batteries. The five batteries were considered in the allotment of fifty survivors as one regiment, which gave a representation of ten survivors for each. The Twenty-seventh New York Infantry, of which General Slocum was the first colonel, was later included in the list to which the Engineer was instructed to issue free transportation also.

Application was made, in a communication dated June 20, 1902, to the commissioner of the passenger department of the Trunk Line Association, for an authorization of a one-fare rate, short line mileage, for this occasion. A desire was expressed that the same rates of fare be extended also to all those who wished to accompany survivors. A list of stations was prepared and appended.

The rate asked for was authorized and the same was extended to comrades, families and friends of the survivors. The legislative enactment authorizing this movement specified that the survivors entitled to this transportation should be designated by the respective regimental organizations. Correspondence was, therefore, opened with the executive officers of these veteran organizations, and on June 23, 1902, Circular No. 1 was sent out, advising the recipients of the matter in hand, fixing the date for ceremonies of dedication, and requesting the preparation of a list of fifty honorably-discharged veterans of their respective regiments, who were to receive from the State, through this Commission, free transportation. Blank muster rolls were transmitted on which to prepare these lists.

Circular No. 2, dated July 9, 1902, was promulgated to embody the substance of the decision of the Trunk Line Association, authorizing the one fare rate and to issue a circular of rates, stations, railroads, etc., hereinbefore referred to. The form of transportation orders and the manner of their distribution were also given in this

circular, which was followed on the same day by Circular No. 3, outlining the plan and scope of the dedication ceremonies, and which was issued for the information of the general public.

Under date September ninth and tenth, circulars were issued, and with each certificate there was sent a bulletin of instructions relating to the manner of exchange of the certificate, its return if not used, dates of exchange and the information that tent accommodations would be provided on Culp's Hill, adjacent to the site of the monument, for those who desired quarters under canvas. The first certificate was issued on August 22, 1902, and the work of preparation and forwarding of certificates to the senior officer of each of the organizations continued uninterruptedly until September sixteenth.

A suitable design for the cards of invitation to the ceremonies was prepared at this office, under the direction of the Chairman, and the requisite plates engraved. Five hundred cards were printed therefrom and 480 invitations sent out. Careful study was likewise bestowed upon the design, workmanship and character of the paper for the transportation orders, to be issued by this Commission, so that their proper use might be reasonably safeguarded.

There were 986 certificates issued, 34 of which were to survivors of the five batteries hereinbefore mentioned; 710 to survivors of the nineteen New York regiments of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps, and 40 to the Twenty-seventh New York Infantry; 25 each to the Eighty-fourth and One Hundred and Forty-seventh New York, of the First Corps; 3 to Field and Staff Officers; 1 to an employee of the Adjutant-General's office (who was detailed to look after the canvas procured by this Commission from the Quartermaster's Department); 1 to the Commander of Slocum Post; 6 to survivors of Sickles' Excelsior Brigade; 12 to members and guests of the Army of the Potomac Society; 21 to members of the Medal of Honor Legion; 7 to invited guests, and 1 to an employee of this Commission.

Certificates to the number of 858 were exchanged for tickets at seventy-six stations, on eight railroad lines; 83 were returned unused, and 45 unused certificates did not reach the office of the Commission. Of the railroad tickets, 4 were returned and the redemption value taken from the bill of the railroad companies. The average cost per capita was $8.39.

From a personal application by the Chairman, while at Wash-

ington, to Lieutenant-General Miles, U. S. A., this communication followed:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY:
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, *April* 17, 1902.

THE COMMANDING GENERAL,
Department of the East,
Governor's Island, N. Y.

SIR. — Major-General D. E. Sickles, representing the Committee having in charge the dedication of a monument to General Slocum, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, September 19 and 20, 1902, has requested that two troops of cavalry and band, and one field battery of artillery be sent to Gettysburg to take part in the ceremonies, and this request has been approved by the Secretary of War.

The Lieutenant-General Commanding the Army, therefore, directs that the troops in question be taken from Fort Myer, and that the journey be performed by practice march.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) GEO. ANDREWS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

The War Department was reminded of this request by the following communication:

23 FIFTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK, *June* 25, 1902.

Lieut. General NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.,
Commanding U. S. Army, War Department,
Washington, D. C.:

DEAR GENERAL MILES. — Allow me to remind you of my request, made on behalf of this Board of Commissioners sometime ago, that you would send a battery of light artillery and a squadron or two of cavalry to the Battlefield of Gettysburg, for salutes and escort duty, on the nineteenth and twentieth of September next, on the occasion of the dedication of an equestrian statue of the late Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, commanding the right wing of our army in that engagement. This statue is erected by the State of New York. The ceremonies will be attended by the Governor of this State and the Governor of Pennsylvania. The Governors of New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware are likewise invited, but have not yet signified their acceptance, although it is unofficially intimated that Governor Murphy of New Jersey, a veteran soldier, like Governor Stone of Pennsylvania, will attend. The Seventh New York National Guard will likewise be present in full strength, as

the escort of the Governor of New York. One thousand veteran soldiers, representing the New York Regiments in the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps commanded by General Slocum, are invited as guests of the State, together with the family of General Slocum.

The occasion is one of such interest that I venture to ask your own presence on the occasion as the head of the army and as a distinguished veteran of the Civil War,

Very sincerely your comrade and friend,

(Signed) D. E. SICKLES,

Chairman.

On the same day, another letter was addressed to General Miles, embodying a request for tents for those veterans desiring quarters under canvas. A copy of this letter follows:

23 Fifth Avenue,
New York, *June* 26, 1902.

General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A.,
Commanding U. S. Army,
War Department, Washington, D. C.:

Dear General. — In my recent letter to you I overlooked a request I intended to make informally, and on an intimation from you that my request might be favorably considered, I will make it official and formal. As I told you, we expect about a thousand of Slocum's New York Veterans, serving in the Twelfth and Twentieth and Sixth Corps, to come to the Field on the occasion of the dedication of the monument. It would be very convenient for us, and I am sure most agreeable to the men, if we could provide quarters for them on the Field, in the neighborhood of Culp's Hill, during their visit of three or four days, and to that end, I would like very much to have, say a hundred tents, 12 by 14 or thereabouts, if convenient, if the Government would loan them to me on my responsibility. It would be well, I think, to have an officer of the Quartermaster's Department detailed in charge of them. They could be pitched and struck by the men of the artillery or cavalry, whom I hope you will send to us.

In July, '93, the War Department loaned me 700 tents for a like purpose on the occasion of the dedication of the New York monuments, when we had 9,000 veterans present. We had also details of artillery, cavalry and infantry sent at my request, by your predecessor, Lieut. General Schofield.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) D. E. SICKLES.

To the foregoing two letters the following reply was received from General Miles:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *June* 27, 1902.

MY DEAR GENERAL SICKLES. — Replying to your letter of the twenty-fifth instant, with reference to two troops of cavalry and a light battery to be present at Gettysburg on the nineteenth and twentieth of September for salute and escort duty on the occasion of the dedication of the equestrian statue of the late Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, and also your letter of the twenty-sixth instant, with reference to tents for veterans, I have to state in reply to the first that on the seventeenth of April the Commanding General Department of the East was instructed to send the troops as requested by you, and a copy of these instructions is inclosed herewith. Your letter in regard to tents has been referred to the Commanding General Department of the East for consideration and remark, and upon its return I will at once take the necessary action to see that your request is complied with if possible.

Very sincerely and truly yours,
(Signed) NELSON A. MILES,
Lieutenant-General.

Major-General D. E. SICKLES,
23 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Respecting the tentage above referred to the following letter was received:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *July* 2, 1902.

General D. E. SICKLES,
23 Fifth Avenue,
New York City:

MY DEAR GENERAL. — Replying to your letter of the twenty-sixth ultimo, requesting that tents be furnished the Slocum veterans at Gettysburg, on the occasion of the dedication of a monument to General Slocum, I have to inform you that after reference of your letter to the Quartermaster-General he informs me that "the tentage referred to by General Sickles as having been loaned to him in 1893, was what was known as Flood Sufferers' tents — tentage which had been used on previous occasions, etc. The supply of this class of tentage has become exhausted. The tents now on hand are new and serviceable and having been procured for issue to the Army there is no authority of law or regulations under which the request can be granted."

Regretting that under these conditions I am unable to further your wishes in the matter,

Very sincerely and truly yours,

(Signed) NELSON A. MILES,
Lieutenant-General.

It appearing from the above-quoted letter that the Quartermaster-General had no authority to loan any tents now on hand, the Chairman made application for the desired tentage to the Secretary of War, in the following communication:

23 Fifth Avenue,
New York, *July* 3, 1902.

Hon. Elihu Root,
Secretary of War,
War Department, Washington, D. C.:

My Dear Secretary Root.— In reply to a recent application for the loan of 100 tents, to be used three or four days at Gettysburg, in September next, by the veterans of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps, on the occasion of the dedication of an equestrian statue, erected by the State of New York to Major-General Slocum, Quartermaster-General Ludington replies that the tents loaned to me in '93, on a similar occasion, are no longer available and that he has no authority to loan any tents now on hand. Under these circumstances I am constrained to apply to you, asking that in the exercise of your supreme discretion, you will have the goodness to shelter 1,000 or more old veterans of Slocum's commands, whom I have invited to represent his New York regiments and batteries, when his statue is unveiled.

By the way, you will receive a formal invitation before long to be present on this interesting occasion, which I hope you will find yourself able to accept. Governor Odell and Governor Stone of Pennsylvania and a few other Governors, will attend. Governor Odell will be escorted by our Seventh Regiment. Altogether, we shall make a big "New York Day" of the occasion.

I shall feel much obliged if you can let me have the tents, for headquarters for the old soldiers. This favor will save them money and contribute to the picturesque feature of the scenes around Culp's Hill, where a battery of regular artillery and some regular cavalry will be encamped, besides the Seventh National Guard. We shall have some capital music and the speeches full of "fireworks."

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) D. E. SICKLES,
Chairman.

The following reply was received:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *July* 8, 1902.

MY DEAR GENERAL SICKLES. — I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the third instant in the matter of loan of tents for the accommodations of veterans of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps upon the occasion of the dedication of the Slocum statue at Gettysburg in September next.

I am strongly moved to comply with your request, but feel that the Quartermaster-General has not overstated the difficulties which stand in the way of its approval. A resolution authorizing such loans, which would have exactly covered your case, failed to receive legislative sanction at the session of Congress which has just closed.

The practice of loaning tents to veteran organizations of the Civil War, under specific resolutions of Congress authorizing the same, practically came to an end at the outbreak of the war with Spain and has not since been revived. This has been due, in great part, to the fact that the veterans of the Civil War have reached an age at which the practice of camping out is attended with such serious danger to health as to cause a very considerable diminution in the number of applications to Congress for tentage for reunion purposes.

The mere furnishing of tents, were it possible to do so under the law, without floors, bed sacks, bedding or other necessary sleeping accommodations, which it is quite out of the power of the Department to supply in any event, would not meet the need which is so strongly set forth in your appeal in behalf of the Slocum veterans.

Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be present upon the occasion of the unveiling of the Slocum monument and to pay the tribute of my personal attendance to the memory of the distinguished soldier whose services are to be commemorated upon that important occasion; and I remain,

Very truly yours,
(Signed) ELIHU ROOT.

General DANIEL E. SICKLES,
Chairman, New York Monuments Commission,
for the Battlefields of Gettysburg and Chattanooga,
23 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The receipt of the above-quoted letter was acknowledged by General Sickles, and a further appeal made to the Secretary of War on behalf of the Slocum veterans, by the Chairman, in the communication which follows.

Henry Warner Slocum

23 Fifth Avenue,
New York, *July* 9, 1902.

Hon. Elihu Root,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.:

My Dear Mr. Root.—Appreciating your kind reply to my recent letter about tents to be occupied by our veterans at Gettysburg, next September, allow me to say that it seems to me the difficulties in the way of acceding to my request are somewhat overestimated by yourself and the Quartermaster-General. Although these tents are not to be used precisely in the military service, for which they have been acquired, the occasion will be one that is wholly military; the men who will use them, although not in the army to-day, were soldiers for four years and fought on the very field where the tents are now to be once more pitched. The occasion is one to do honor to a distinguished commander on the same battlefield. The old veterans will have for their neighbors, on the tented field, the regiment of our National Guard which contributed over 300 of its members to hold commissions in the great army of '61–'65. The monument to be dedicated is erected by the State of New York; the ceremonies are arranged by that great commonwealth. The Governors of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey will be present. We trust that the Secretary of War will likewise honor the occasion. In a word, the day will be historical — military — national. It is as if we were paying the last tribute in memory of one of the most distinguished officers in our military service, in which a thousand of his men, representing all the regiments and batteries of his commands, will participate.

I do not believe that you will strain your authority a hair's breadth in allowing the use of a hundred of your tents for such an occasion. I will be personally responsible for their safe keeping and return. An officer of the quartermaster's department could be detailed to look after them. Detachments of artillery and cavalry of the army, I am assured by General Miles, will be present, for salutes and escort duty. Details from these commands might pitch and strike the tents. I will provide straw and other conveniences for Slocum veterans. Of course, we will not allow the infirm to occupy them. Each of the regiments to be represented has been requested to designate fifty of their most efficient survivors as delegates.

If the weather should prove inclement, I shall quarter the men in houses, in the town, and not use the tents at all; but if, as we may reasonably anticipate, the season is propitious, the occupation of the tents by the old veterans, surrounded as they will be by a large encampment of soldiers from New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, will contribute much to the picturesque impressiveness of the scene.

Let me ask you then, my dear Mr. Root, to review your impressions of the other day, in the light of the suggestions I am now making, and I trust that

when you shall have done so, you may incline to accede to my wishes. Pardon my tenacity in pressing this request upon your consideration. "Hear me for my cause."

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) D. E. SICKLES.

This communication resulted in the issuance of an order for the desired tentage, as set forth in the following copy:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *July* 21, 1902.

MY DEAR GENERAL SICKLES. — I have endorsed upon your letter of July ninth the following directions to the Adjutant-General:

"Order a troop of Cavalry from Fort Myer to make a practice march to Gettysburg, and to be present at the ceremony referred to in the within letter, and to perform escort duty on that occasion.

"Direct the Quartermaster-General to furnish and transport, and the command to take, 100 additional Sibley wall tents or hospital tents, and to permit the use of them to the veterans referred to by General Sickles, during their stay there."

I am sorry to say that I shall probably be unable to attend myself, as I am sailing for Europe on Thursday, and do not expect to be back in time.

Always faithfully yours,
(Signed) ELIHU ROOT.

General DANIEL E. SICKLES,
23 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

The Acting Secretary of War, Hon. W. C. Sanger, in a communication addressed to Colonel Nicholson, dated August 5, 1902, granted permission for the Seventh Regiment to encamp on East Cemetery Hill at the time of the dedication of the Slocum Monument, subject to the condition that General Sickles and Colonel Appleton would furnish a certificate of guarantee that all damages which may be done by any members of the regiment will be made good and that at the conclusion of the encampment the grounds will be restored to their former condition.

The camp of the detachment of regular troops was located on what is known as "Geary Field," a short distance in the open from Spangler's Spring. The tents of the veterans were put up adjacent to the Slocum Monument.

Henry Warner Slocum

By special order No. 189, Headquarters, Department of the East, Governor's Island, New York city, August 18, 1902, the commanding officer at Fort Myer, Va., directed the band and two troops of the Second Cavalry and the Fourth Field Battery to march to Gettysburg to participate in the ceremonies incident to the dedication of the monument and to perform escort duty on this occasion.

Col. Lewis R. Stegman was appointed grand marshal of the ceremonies. General Orders Nos. 1 and 2 of the grand marshal are appended hereto.

The transportation and subsistence of his Excellency, the Governor, and Staff, and the family of General Slocum, the Board of Commissioners and invited guests were provided for on the "Headquarters' Train." It departed from the Pennsylvania Depot, Jersey City, September eighteenth, and left Gettysburg Saturday, September twentieth.

The family of General Slocum was represented by Mr. and Mrs. Henry W Slocum, Miss Gertrude Slocum, Miss Natalie Slocum, Mrs. Henry P. Kingsbury, Miss Clara Kingsbury, Miss Elizabeth Kingsbury, Master Slocum Kingsbury, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence R. Slocum, Mr. and Mrs. George E. Slocum, Mr. and Mrs. George F. Slocum, Master Raymond Slocum, Major Peter Leary and Mrs. Henry Edsall.

There was also present his Excellency, the Governor of Pennsylvania and party, with members of his Staff, and the Governor of New Jersey and party.

All the Commissioners were present except Colonel Beckwith. Invited guests with the Commissioners' party were Senators George R. Malby and Jotham P. Allds, Generals James C. Rogers, Roy Stone and Orland Smith, Col. Archie E. Baxter, and Judge Edward Bartlett. His honor Mayor Low of New York accompanied the party on the trip going.

Henry Warner Slocum

HEADQUARTERS, GRAND MARSHAL,
GETTYSBURG, PA., *September* 15, 1902.

GENERAL ORDERS
No. 1.

Having been appointed by the New York Battlefields Commission for Gettysburg and Chattanooga, Grand Marshal of the parade at Gettysburg, on the occasion of dedication of the equestrian statue of Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, on Culp's Hill, September 19, 1902, I hereby assume command.

The following staff appointments are announced:

Brig. Gen. Horatio C. King, Army of Potomac, Chief of Staff.

Col. Francis M. Crafts, Twelfth Corps, Adjutant-General.

Col. E. B. Cope, Chief Engineer and Chief of Aids, Army of Potomac.

They will be obeyed and respected accordingly. The full staff will be promulgated in future orders. The hour for "Assembly" for the parade will be one-fifteen P. M.

The following will be the order of formation for the parade:

Detail from Second United States Cavalry.

Corporal Skelly Post, G. A. R., of Gettysburg, Guard of Honor.

Gettysburg Guard.

Grand Marshal and Staff.

ESCORT TO VETERANS.

Band of Second United States Cavalry.

Two troops of Second United States Cavalry.

Fourth Battery, United States Field Artillery.

Society of Army of Potomac, as Guard of Honor to Veterans of Slocum Corps.

Twenty-seventh New York Volunteers,— Gen. Slocum's own regiment.

TWELFTH AND TWENTIETH CORPS.

First Division. Indicated by "Red Star" on white field.

First Brigade: Twenty-eighth, One Hundred and Twenty-third, One Hundred and Forty-first, One Hundred and Forty-fifth New York Volunteers.

Second Brigade: One Hundred and Seventh, One Hundred and Fiftieth New York Volunteers.

Third Brigade: Forty-fifth, One Hundred and Forty-third New York Volunteers.

Battery "I," First New York Light Artillery.

Battery "M," First New York Light Artillery.

Battery "K," First New York Light Artillery.

Second Division. Indicated by "White Star" on blue field.

Second Brigade: One Hundred and Nineteenth, One Hundred and Thirty-fourth, One Hundred and Fifty-fourth New York Volunteers.

Third Brigade: Sixtieth, Seventy-eighth, One Hundred and Second, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York Volunteers.

Fourteenth New York National Guard.

Thirteenth New York Independent Battery.

Third Division. Indicated by "Blue Star" on white field.

Third Brigade: One Hundred and Thirty-sixth New York Volunteers.

Fourth Division. Indicated by "Orange Star" on white field.

Fifty-eighth, Sixty-eighth New York Volunteers.

Grand Army of the Republic.

Civic Organizations.

Fifth Division. New York Board of Commissioners, Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, United States Army, Chairman.

Slocum Family.

Orators of the Day.

Seventh Regiment, N. G., S. N. Y., escorting his Excellency, the Governor of New York.

Governor of New York and Staff.

Governor of Pennsylvania and Staff.

Governor of New Jersey and Staff.

Gettsyburg National Park Commission.

Advisory Committee of Gettysburg.

Invited Guests.

Retired Officers.

Crippled Veterans in Carriages.

On arrival at Culp's Hill, the Escort Division will move, in quick time, beyond the stand and mass to the east thereof. The Veterans of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps will mass in front of the stand, or to its north side. The Society of the Army of the Potomac, G. A. R., and Civic Organizations will mass to the west of the stand. The Second United States Cavalry Band and the Seventh Regiment N. Y. N. G. Band will furnish the music at the dedicatory services.

Salutes will be fired by the United States Artillery.

First. Salutes for each of the Governors of States on their arrival at Gettysburg.

Second. Major-General's Salute for General Slocum when Statue is unveiled.

Third. National Salute after Benediction.

The Board of Monuments Commissioners, the Governors of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and their respective Staffs, and other invited guests, will occupy the Grand Stand.

LEWIS R. STEGMAN,
Grand Marshal.

Official:

FRANCIS M. CRAFTS,
Adjutant-General.

HEADQUARTERS, GRAND MARSHAL,
GETTYSBURG, PA., *September* 16, 1902.

GENERAL ORDER
No. 2.

1 The following officers have been appointed on the staff of the Grand Marshal, in addition to those already announced:

Col. Henry C. Burhans, Twelfth Corps.
Col. Edward Barr, Army of Potomac.
Col. Edward J. Maxwell, Army of Potomac.
Major Charles H. Burbeck, M. D., Twelfth Corps.
Major C. E. Goldsborough, M. D., Army of Potomac.
Major William N. Johnston, Twelfth Corps.
Major D. M. Robertson, Twelfth Corps.
Major Marshal J. Corbett, Twelfth Corps.
Capt. William T. Ziegler, Army of Potomac.
Capt. George K. Collins, Twelfth Corps.
Capt. Calvin Gilbert, Army of Potomac.
Capt. James Hearst, Army of Potomac.
Lieut. Shannon W. Lassell, Twelfth Corps.
Rev. Dr. Wm. R. Jenvey, Army of Potomac.
Dr. Henry Stewart, Sons of Veterans.
Charles Cobeans, Sons of Veterans.

2 Brig. Gen. John A. Reynolds, Twelfth Corps, is appointed Marshal of the Escort Division. Col. Allan H. Jackson, U. S. A. (retired), Twentieth Corps, is appointed Marshal of the Division of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps Veterans. Col. Nicholas Grumbach, Twelfth Corps, is appointed Marshal of Second Division, Twelfth and Twentieth Corps. They will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

3 The headquarters of the Grand Marshal will be on Chambersburg street, opposite the Eagle Hotel.

4 The right of the Escort Division, cavalry and artillery, will rest on the public square at Gettysburg, extending westward on Chambersburg street. The right of the Seventh Regiment, N. G., N. Y., will rest on the public

square, extending eastward toward Stratton street. The right of the Society of the Army of the Potomac and the Veterans of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps will rest on Washington street, at its intersection with Chambersburg street, and extend southward. The right of the cavalry detail and the Guard of Honor to the Grand Marshal will rest on the public square, extending along Baltimore street northwardly. The public square will be kept entirely free. Details to guard the grand stand and public square will be made from the military forces present.

5 The order of parade, by divisions, will be as prescribed in General Order No. 1, each division moving into its proper place, at marching distance, as the preceding division develops its left.

6 The line of march will be southward from the public square, through Baltimore street, to Culp's Hill and the Slocum Memorial.

7 Organizations will salute as they pass the grand stand.

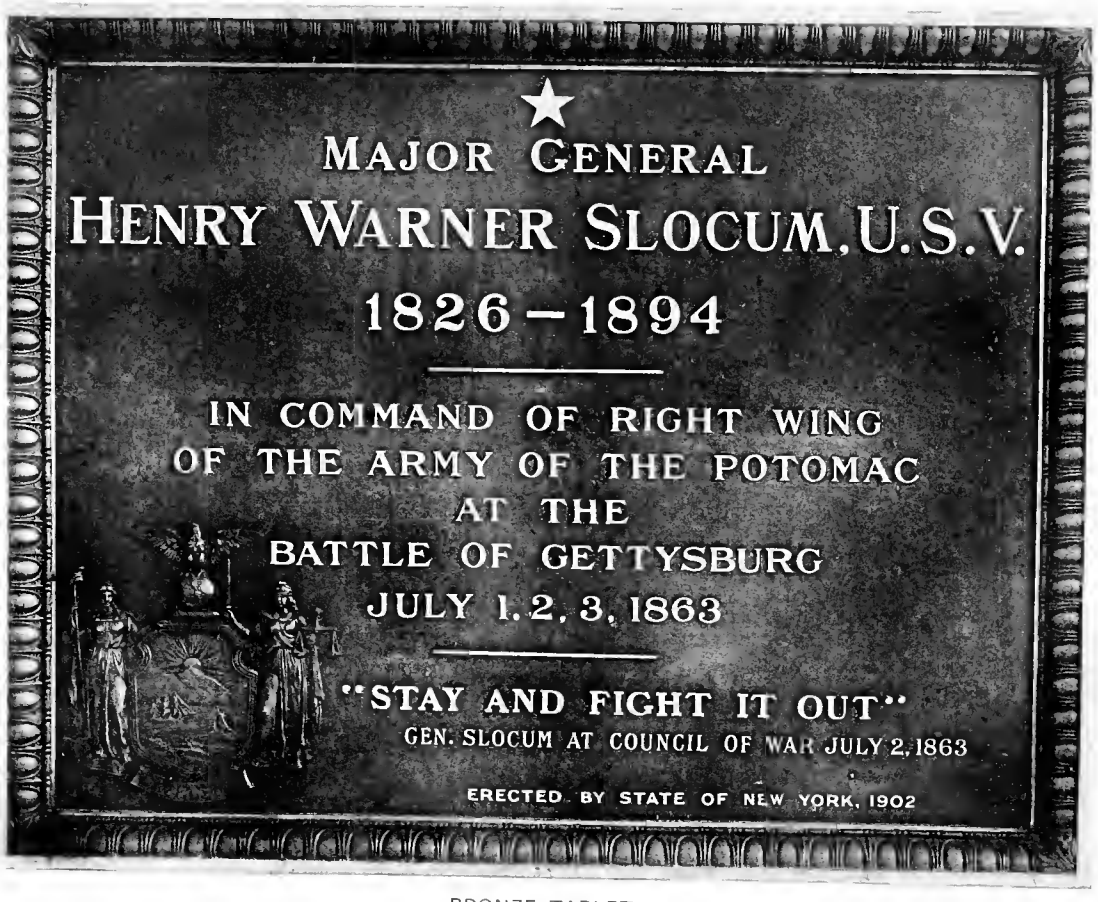
8 The Seventh Regiment, N. G., N. Y., will escort the Governor of the State of New York and the Society of the Army of the Potomac.

9 After the ceremonies at the dedication are completed the organizations will return to their respective headquarters, except the Seventh Regiment, N. G., N. Y., which will escort the Governor of New York and the Society of the Army of the Potomac, on their return to Gettysburg.

10 The Medal of Honor Veterans will form on Washington street, and take their position in the marching column immediately in rear of the Society of the Army of the Potomac.

LEWIS R. STEGMAN,
Grand Marshal.

Official: FRANCIS M. CRAFTS,
Colonel and Adjutant-General.



BRONZE TABLET.

Placed on westerly side of granite pedestal.

Program of Exercises at the Dedication of the Slocum Monument, Gettysburg, September 19, 1903

Music — Seventh N. Y. Regiment Band.
Prayer — Rev. W. T. Pray, D. D.
Address by Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, U. S. A., Chairman.
Music — Second U. S. Cavalry Band.
Unveiling of Monument by Governor B. B. Odell, Jr.
Major-General's Salute, Fourth U. S. Battery.
Address by Governor Benj. B. Odell, Jr.
Address by Gov. William E. Stone.
Music — Second U. S. Cavalry Band.
Address by Gov. Franklin Murphy.
Oration by Gen. James C. Rogers.
Music — Seventh N. Y. Regiment Band.
Oration by Col. Archie E. Baxter.
Music — Seventh N. Y. Regiment Band.
Benediction — Rev. Jos. Twitchell, D. D.
Salute — Fourth U. S. Battery.

Prayer by Rev. W. T. Pray,

SEVENTY-EIGHTH AND ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND N. Y. V.

Our Father who art in Heaven! Almighty and everlasting God: The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who has given us grace at this time and with one accord to make our common supplication unto Thee, hear us now as we give thanks for the protection and guidance which Thou hast thus far vouchsafed us.

We praise Thee that, while we are assembled to give tangible, substantial and permanent expression of our love and veneration for the memory of our departed commander, we are assured of the Divine presence and blessing, in order that we may be guided in the exercises of the hour and thus glorify Thee and enjoy a comradeship with one another that shall be sacred and enduring.

We thank Thee that so many of us are permitted to engage in the services which we here render, bringing vividly to our thoughts a history that is full of important interest and a personage great in valor and patriotism. We praise Thee for the soldierly bearing, the loyal purpose and the unreserved consecration to the country's welfare and its flag, which characterized the hero whose name is upon every tongue as we here hold communion as comrades of the past, yet of the present, and we hope and pray of the eternal future.

We thank Thee for the high type of life revealed to the American people by him as a soldier and a citizen. May it inspire us all to a higher standard of citizenship. We are grateful, O God, for the privilege of recording our remembrance of his manly character, his acts, his greatness, his modest simplicity, his calmness, his capability, his leadership, his conquests.

We thank thee that we hold in remembrance the priceless gift in his example of a useful and pure life in the home circle, his fidelity to public trusts and the lofty ideals he cherished in his dealings with his fellowmen.

We implore Thy blessing upon the kindred of the valiant leader who are honored by his name and the tender association of family

ties. Hear us for the fellow officers who are with us and who fought by his side or counseled with him in the midst of the battle; and for those of us who were obedient to his wise orders.

Oh Lord, while we praise Thee for the memory of those who have gone from our ranks to join the eternal hosts, we would ask Thee to bless the veterans of all our wars who bear the marks of life's march and way, and perhaps the scars and enfeeblement incurred in their country's defense; and in the care for such may it never be said that "Republics are ungrateful."

We pray Thee to continue Thy blessing upon our fair country. We praise Thee for Thy goodness to the nation — for the fraternal spirit within our borders — for peace and prosperity; for which we give unto Thee thanks and glory.

Hear us for Thy blessing to rest upon the Chief Magistrate of our Nation. Grant unto him courage, patience and wisdom; and in Thy name may he advise the people, and execute the affairs of the great Republic. Bless the commonwealths that have made this occasion possible, and may their governors and all in authority and all our population be crowned with Thy benediction. Let Thy blessing be with those who are in charge of the exercises of this important event and upon all who contribute in any way to make this day memorable in our country's history; and thus may the pleasure of the Heavenly Father rest upon us, and the brotherhood and comradeship of men become stronger and more hallowed than ever.

Fulfill, O Lord, the desires and petitions we bring to Thee, as may be most expedient for us; granting us in this world knowledge of Thy truth and in the world to come life everlasting — All of which we ask in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Henry Warner Slocum

The following letter from Lieut. Gen. James Longstreet, C. S. A., who was unable to be present as expected, was then read by Gen. Horatio C. King:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF RAILROADS,
WASHINGTON, *September* 19, 1902.

General D. E. SICKLES, *Chairman*,
Gettysburg, Pa.:

MY DEAR SIR. — My plan and desire was to meet you at Gettysburg on the interesting ceremony attending the unveiling of the Slocum monument; but to-day I find myself in no condition to keep the promise made you when last we were together. I am quite disabled from a severe hurt in one of my feet, so that I am unable to stand more than a minute or two at a time. Please express my sincere regrets to the noble Army of the Potomac, and to accept them especially for yourself.

On that field you made your mark that will place you prominently before the world as one of the leading figures of the most important battle of the Civil War. As a Northern veteran once remarked to me, "General Sickles can well afford to leave a leg on that field."

I believe that it is now conceded that the advanced position at the Peach Orchard, taken by your corps and under your orders, saved that battlefield to the Union cause. It was the sorest and saddest reflection of my life for many years; but to-day I can say with sincerest emotion that it was and is the best that could have come to us all, North and South, and I hope that the nation, reunited, may always enjoy the honor and glory brought to it by that grand work.

Please offer my kindest salutations to your Governor and your fellow comrades of the Army of the Potomac.

Always yours sincerely,

JAMES LONGSTREET,

Lt. Gen. Confederate Army.

Address by Maj. Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, U. S. A.,

CHAIRMAN, NEW YORK MONUMENTS COMMISSION FOR THE BATTLEFIELD OF GETTYSBURG.

Governor Odell, Comrades and Guests:

My colleagues have requested me to preside to-day. It is my first duty to offer to all the guests of the State of New York who are with us a cordial welcome. The Governors of the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey have honored this occasion by their presence. Governor Stone of Pennsylvania and Governor Murphy of New Jersey are both veterans of the Civil War, and wear on their breasts the emblems of their honorable service in defense of our flag. Conspicuous among our guests, as well for their numbers as for their imperishable claims upon the gratitude of the American people, let me welcome more than a thousand of Slocum's surviving soldiers of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps, who have accepted the invitation given to them by the Legislature of New York. They are here to-day to dedicate this statue of their beloved commander, Major-General Henry Warner Slocum, erected by a grateful commonwealth to commemorate his heroic services on this battlefield.

This battlefield has become hallowed ground for the people whose kindred have contended here for the life of our Nation. More than a million of our citizens have come to Gettysburg since July, 1863. The states represented in the Union Army have erected here more than four hundred graceful memorials to the patriotism and valor of their men who fought at Gettysburg. No battlefield on earth is so consecrated by loving tokens of remembrance. And yet we are told by superficial observers of character that "Americans are without sentiment."

In the North and East and West, thousands of soldiers' monuments reveal the affection cherished by our people for their defenders. There are more soldiers' monuments in this country than have ever been erected in all the rest of the world. If we are not a martial

people, we know at least how to honor the memory of our soldiers. We give almost $150,000,000 a year towards the support of the surviving soldiers of our wars and their families,— more than is given for like purposes by all the nations of Europe combined. Ten of our presidents have been chosen from our armies.

New York may well be satisfied with her part in the battle of Gettysburg. The first shot was fired as the sun rose on the morning of the first day by a trooper belonging to the Ninth New York Cavalry, under Colonel Sackett. The name of this dragoon was Corporal Alphonse Hodges of Company F. In the skirmishing which soon followed, Silas W. James of Company G of the same regiment was killed. Thus it happened that the first shot at Gettysburg was fired by a New York soldier, and the first man on our side to fall was a New York soldier, both belonging to the Ninth New York Cavalry.

In the battle of the first day, a division of the First Corps, under Wadsworth of New York, was the earliest to reach the field. Cutler's Brigade, containing four New York regiments, was in advance, the Seventy-sixth New York in the lead, the first infantry that encountered the enemy. The six divisions of the Union Army engaged on July first, and their artillery, were all commanded by New Yorkers, Doubleday, Robinson and Wadsworth in the First Corps, under Reynolds; Schurz, Von Steinwehr and Barlow in the Eleventh Corps, under Howard.

On July second the right and left flanks of our Army were held by New York commanders, Slocum and Sickles. Here on Culp's Hill Greene's brigade of five New York regiments defended this important position against Johnson's division of Confederates on the night of July second. All honor to the gallant old general, George S. Greene and his brigade, the Sixtieth New York, under Col. Abel Godard; the Seventy-eighth New York, under Col. Hammerstein; the One Hundred and Second New York, under Col. Lewis R. Stegman; the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York under Col. David Ireland; and the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, under Col. Henry A. Barnum. Slocum complained that the splendid work of this brigade on the night of July second had not been mentioned in the official report of the battle, and in a letter to General Meade he exclaimed, speaking of that eventful night:

"The failure of the enemy to gain entire possession of our

works was due entirely to the skill of General Greene and the heroic valor of his troops."

Five New York brigade commanders in the Third Army Corps, Ward, Carr, Graham, De Trobriand and Brewster; three in the Second Army Corps, Zook, Willard and Kelly, Ayres, a division commander, and Brigadier-Generals Weed and Vincent and Colonel Rice, who succeeded to the command of Vincent's brigade of the Fifth Army Corps, all of them sons of New York, sustained the many fierce combats that ended in the final repulse of the enemy on our left flank on the evening of the second day of the battle. Of these leaders, Zook, Weed and Willard were killed, and Sickles and Graham wounded.

Among the commands that shared the honors won on the third day, when Lee made his desperate and hopeless attempt to regain a lost battle, were the brigades of Alexander Stewart Webb of the Second Corps, and of Alexander Shaler of the Sixth Corps, both of New York; the latter included three New York regiments of infantry, and helped Slocum recover Culp's Hill, so nearly lost the night before; and when Webb's Pennsylvania brigade repulsed the final assault of Armistead's Virginians the enemy had fired his last shot. So it happened that New York commanders began and ended the battle of Gettysburg.

In the Union Army on this field New York had sixty-eight regiments of infantry, nineteen batteries of artillery, seven regiments of cavalry and two regiments of engineers. The losses of the New York commands in the battle were 6,707, more than thirty per cent of the total losses in the Union Army. Besides these troops, the Governor of New York, Horatio Seymour, sent to Harrisburg, as soon as Lee crossed the Potomac, twenty-six regiments of the infantry of our National Guard, numbering 14,000 officers and enlisted men, to assist in repelling the invasion of Pennsylvania.

New York has erected on this battlefield eighty-six regimental and battery monuments, besides the State Memorial to our dead, who lie buried in yonder National Cemetery, and besides this equestrian statue to General Slocum. All of these monuments have been placed here to commemorate the valor and patriotism of the volunteers who enlisted in New York for service in the Union Army.

New York regiments and batteries fought in every division but

one in the Army of the Potomac, and in forty-six brigades. One-third or more of the corps, division and brigade commanders were sons of the Empire State. New York contributed to the Union armies from April, 1861, to April, 1865, 400,000 volunteers. Of this vast number 53,000 died in service. We expended $125,000,000 during that period in raising, organizing and equipping our forces. Of the 300 famous battalions whose losses in the Civil War were the largest, as shown by Fox, the historian, fifty-nine of these battalions were New York troops. New York regiments and batteries fought in more than a thousand battles and skirmishes during the Civil War.

The Governor of New York is here to-day to unveil this monument. He is escorted to Gettysburg by the Seventh Regiment of the National Guard of New York, a regiment that was frequently summoned to the field during the Civil War, and from whose ranks were graduated 603 officers who served in the Union Army and Navy. Of this number, 41 were killed in action, and 17 died of disease during the war. The Seventh was the West Point of the volunteer army.

Slocum used to say to his intimate friends, "I have in my possession a small scrap of paper three or four inches long" (which he described by holding up two fingers), "about that size," he said, "that would throw a flood of light on the battle of Gettysburg; but it will be time enough bye-and-bye to turn on the light," intimating that the "scrap of paper" would appear after his death.

The day before Hooker was relieved from command it was arranged that Slocum should intrench his army corps, reinforced by 10,000 men, to be withdrawn from Harpers Ferry, on General Lee's line of communication, a position from which Slocum could not have been driven. If Hooker had not been superseded Slocum would have been at Williamsport on the Potomac with 20,000 men intrenched, and Lee would never have returned to Virginia with his army.

On the night of July 2, 1863, after a bloody battle, fought on the afternoon of that day on our left flank, a council of war was convened by the commanding general, to consider our situation and advise him what to do. The corps commanders present expressed their views in order of their rank respectively. Slocum, being the ranking officer in the council, was the last to reply. He said: "Stay and fight it out."

That speech settled the matter. Slocum was not an orator, but

no orator ever made a better speech. It was brief, like Cæsar's "*Veni, vidi, vici,*" but it told the whole story. It was Spartan eloquence, and it won the assent of the council. "Stay and fight it out" was the advice given by the council to General Meade, who was not satisfied with his position at Gettysburg.

The Army of the Potomac did "stay and fight it out." The victory gained is the best comment that can be made on Slocum's judgment.

"Stay and fight it out" would be a good motto for Slocum's descendants. "Stay and fight it out" would be a good motto for all our American youth. We have inscribed it there on the pedestal of the statue, where for centuries to come American soldiers will read Slocum's inspiring speech, "Stay and fight it out."

After the Gettysburg campaign, the Eleventh and Twelfth Army Corps were severed from the Army of the Potomac. They were sent to the mountains of Tennessee, eight hundred miles away, under Hooker, where they won endless fame at Lookout Mountain, and shared in the brilliant victory of Mission Ridge, under Grant. Afterwards, in 1864, under Sherman and Slocum and Howard, they fought their way from the heart of the continent to the sea.

Then came the final combat between the Army of Virginia, under Lee, and the Army of the Potomac, under Grant, a battle of giants, which Grant won and gave us peace.

I am thankful to have been spared to come here to-day to assist in the dedication of this monument to my comrade and friend, the foremost soldier New York sent to the field during the Civil War. Fortunately, he was one of the few of our commanders who had unbounded confidence in our volunteers; therefore he never failed.

We were associated in four campaigns of the Army of the Potomac. We were both successively regimental, brigade, division and corps commanders.

Slocum never lost a color or a gun. Although his voice will never again be heard by his beloved comrades, this heroic figure will stand for ages to come, as a type of an American commander, modest, resolute, sagacious, brave.

On this field we see a glorious group—Meade, Reynolds, Slocum, Hancock. The observer will note that while there are only four memorials erected to commanding generals at Gettysburg, there are four hundred monuments dedicated to the memory of the soldiers who fought here.

Henry Warner Slocum

There are some people who think you old vets live too long, that you don't die off fast enough. They say you are making the Government and the country poor by the pensions you get; the woods and the newspapers are full of such people. They say they represent the "taxpayers." The taxpayers, you know, of course, are the folks that support the government and the people. They are the salt of the earth. They fight our battles. They put down the Rebellion. They saved the Union.

They are amazed at your presumption in pretending that your services were of any particular value. They think that eleven dollars a month in greenbacks, worth fifty cents on the dollar, was ample pay for all you did, and that your claims on the gratitude of the nation are all bosh.

Fortunately these people, although immense in their own estimation, are only heard of in the newspapers and in their own little corners. They have no voice in Congress, nor in our State Legislatures, nor in our municipal councils. I would like to see one of them set up as a candidate for president. A blind man could count his votes.

My comrades, don't you mind these taxpayers. The heart of this nation is yours. The American people love you, as they honored and revered the soldiers of Washington, who gained our independence. As you move onwards toward your graves, your tottering footsteps will be tenderly watched, and with tearful eyes, until the last one of you hears the final call.

And on every Memorial Day, as long as the history of your noble deeds is taught in the common schools of the people, the tombs of the heroic volunteers of 1861–1865 will be shrines for all patriotic Americans. You will be remembered and honored, while your detractors will be as utterly forgotten as the noisy frogs that scream in slimy pools.

Compare this country to-day with our situation in 1863, when the battle of Gettysburg was fought, forty years ago. No parallel in history can be found for the marvelous advance we have since made in all the elements of power.

To you, my brave comrades, belongs the glory of saving our Union of States, the foundation of all our strength, the fertile source of our growth and of our felicity as a nation.

Address by Governor Benj. B. Odell, Jr., of New York.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Gettysburg will always occupy a place in history as the decisive battle of the Rebellion, and perhaps to a greater extent than any other this field will be the Mecca of those who in years to come desire to pay tribute to the memory of the brave men who sacrificed their lives in defense of our nation's honor. When we recall the Rebellion and view it from the standpoint of later history, we can perhaps understand and appreciate the conditions which at that period were wholly inexplicable and clearly misunderstood. The rancour and bitterness of the time led to a misconception of the sincerity and the honesty of purpose of those separated in our nation of commonwealths by an imaginary line, one side standing in name only for the rights of human beings, as enunciated and guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence, while the other stood for freedom of thought and individual liberty in its highest sense. The man who, satisfied in his own mind of the righteousness of his cause, sacrifices his sentiments to the policy of the State which burdens or oppresses the weak is devoid of those attributes which God has given him, and loses his independence. Convictions founded upon false premises may be excused, and teachings may lead us to believe that that which has been established through years of civilization is right. Yet, underlying all, is the knowledge in man's own mind which must determine for him and decide his action. Nations cannot exist, republics would crumble, were there a purpose to oppress the individual or a desire to give to that which may exist as a wrong the appearance of right. Every contest that has been waged, every battle that has been fought in the world's history, has had as its origin the purpose of the human being to protect himself against invasion of his liberty. While the helpless have always been obliged to depend upon the strong, men in the full vigor of their strength and manhood, to redress their wrongs, yet there has always been this underlying principle of equality, of right and of justice, which has determined action and which has

been one of the factors through which civilization has come and humanity has been uplifted. Whatever may have been the incentive which led those of the South to assail the flag and to attempt the dismemberment of a country which stood before the world as a refuge for those of all nations who believed in individual rights and the liberties of mankind; whatever may have been the reason that led to that great struggle; whatever it was that brought about the sacrifice of life and property, we of the present generation can look upon the conflict with lessened regret, because one of the results of the war has been a country greater, more powerful and more potent for good.

In these days, therefore, when the glory of the Revolution is supplemented by the achievements of arms in later struggles, and when we have united in bonds of sympathy and patriotism, we may well consider the heroism and bravery of the men who fought on both sides in the great Civil War. The victory for the Union has brought about a community of interests, has brought about a brotherhood in our country that is beginning to forget as it clasps hands over the border which heretofore separated us — that forgets those issues which made the horrors of civil war possible, while we stand as brothers beneath the flag of a greater nation, revering the memory and extolling the deeds of brave men of a common ancestry.

What might have happened, however, if the tide of battle upon this field had turned against the North cannot be conceived, but I am satisfied that while the movement to extend slavery might have secured temporary advantages, yet it never could have eventually succeeded; because, with the progress of civilization, those who were devoted to the advancement of this peculiar idea would inevitably have abandoned it, if not through the shock of arms, through the religious convictions and training of our people. While perhaps this stain upon our Nation's honor might have been effaced in later years through these influences, yet an all wise Providence had decreed that our country should pass through a period of war, and that in the great struggle between the men upon both sides of this great question the strength of our Nation, whose ultimate object was liberty of man, should be disclosed and shown to the world.

So battles were fought, and from this baptism of blood the Nation became stronger, through this bitter experience which filled

our homes with mourning and which threw a pall over our country which made the hearts of men heavy, the Nation emerged, and stands to-day, not as a power to coerce, but as one that is potent for good in the civilization of the world. We can, therefore, meet at this time upon this battlefield and accord to those who participated in its strife the praise that their heroism merits, and recount the deeds of glory without opening old wounds incident to the struggle of death, which made the whole land so desolate.

New York has a pride in this field, because here, perhaps to a greater extent than in any other battle, she showed her devotion by furnishing a greater number of men. In the patriotic general, whose monument we dedicate to-day, was found one of those sturdy men who knew not only duty but who gave to its performance an intelligence which insured to him the respect and confidence of his associates and those whom he led. He and the brave men of New York and other States of the Union need no monument to perpetuate their glory. Monuments may be erected as the Nation's tribute, but our country and this battlefield stand as the monument of their devotion, their patriotism and their heroism. But it is fitting for us at times to visit these scenes, to come with those who took part in the great struggle and to show by our presence that time has not tempered our love, but that it is as strong as ever for those brave boys in blue; and while we drop the sympathetic tear upon the graves of the men from the North, let us also express our sympathy for those who fell upon the side of the South. There are no longer dividing lines in our patriotism. There is no blot upon our national escutcheon to cause the blush of shame to mantle the cheek of the sturdy men of the North, of the chivalry of the South, while the men of the West extend the hand of fellowship, all faithful citizens of a reunited country with nothing but respect for an adversary whose blood courses through their own veins. It is upon this spot that the immortal Lincoln gave voice to those words which will stand forever in our classics as the patriotic utterances of one who was not privileged to witness the results of the four years of suffering, of anguish and of devotion to the cause that he had espoused, which gives us to-day the opportunity to repeat his words that our government still stands "a government of the people, for the people and by the people," and that it "shall not perish from the earth."

Address by Governor Wm. A. Stone, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Chairman:

Pennsylvania is proud of the fact that the most decisive battle of the war was fought on her soil, and while the soil is the soil of Pennsylvania it is consecrated by the blood of the bravest men in all the states and territories. This battlefield belongs to the whole Nation, because here it is where the whole Nation was saved from dissolution.

Whether it is among nations or among individuals, some decisive moment comes in the lives of each. The decisive moment for our Nation was here at Gettysburg, in 1863, and the Nation was saved.

We feel honored to see the different states come here and erect monuments to the bravery of their distinguished sons. We are proud of the brilliant record of General Slocum, and we are proud of and we love the brilliant record of General Sickles; and we will never forget that the battlefield of Gettysburg is in our possession, simply as trustees for every liberty-loving man and woman in the whole country.

I was especially interested in the remarks of General Sickles relating to the services of the "old vets." It is true we are paying them $150,000,000 a year but there is one thing we never yet have paid them. We have redeemed our contracts and paid our obligations in gold; and the time will come — and that soon — when the old soldiers will be paid in gold the difference between what they received and what they should have received. If it is good politics and good statesmanship to redeem an army contract by making the money a gold value, it is good politics and good statesmanship to pay the difference between five and a half dollars a month and thirteen. While you are left and before we die let us do the square thing.

I was not at the battle of Gettysburg, and when I come to hear of the many that stayed on the battlefield of Gettysburg I am glad that I was not here.

Address by Governor Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey.

Mr. Chairman, etc., etc.:

It would not be kind if I were to detain you with more than a word. There are two or three things, to be said in not more than two or three minutes, which I would like to say.

First and over all, I feel it a very great privilege and honor to be with you, to join with the representatives of the great State of New York in doing merited honor to my old Commander.

If you will look at his face — and I never saw a more speaking face in bronze than that face yonder — you will understand how it was that General Slocum easily won and always held the confidence and affection of his soldiers. They never doubted him, and when we saw him we had the confidence in him. A face like that inspires the world over. I repeat that I am glad to be here with you, to join with the citizens of New York in doing honor to that great man.

I have another thing to say, and that is, touching the reference of my colleague, Governor Stone, to the payment to the veterans of the difference between what they should have received were they paid in gold and what they did receive. The Government may make good in time to come the difference between currency and gold in the times of the war; but if it should pay us all the money the Government has it would not be worth as much to us as the memory that you and I fought on this field! There is something worth more than money to the soldier that fought at Gettysburg. (Applause.)

I will say just one thing more. I went over this field to-day; it was my first visit in thirty-eight years. I cannot tell you how it impressed me. Our regiment fought away over yonder, on the extreme right, and we started this morning and went over the field to the left and saw this magnificent monument. As I rode over the field and the inspiration of that heroic day came to me, it seemed that I should go away from here — as I believe you will go away — a better citizen, not alone from the beauty of the day and its great attractions, but because of the patriotic inspiration which on this day inspires us.

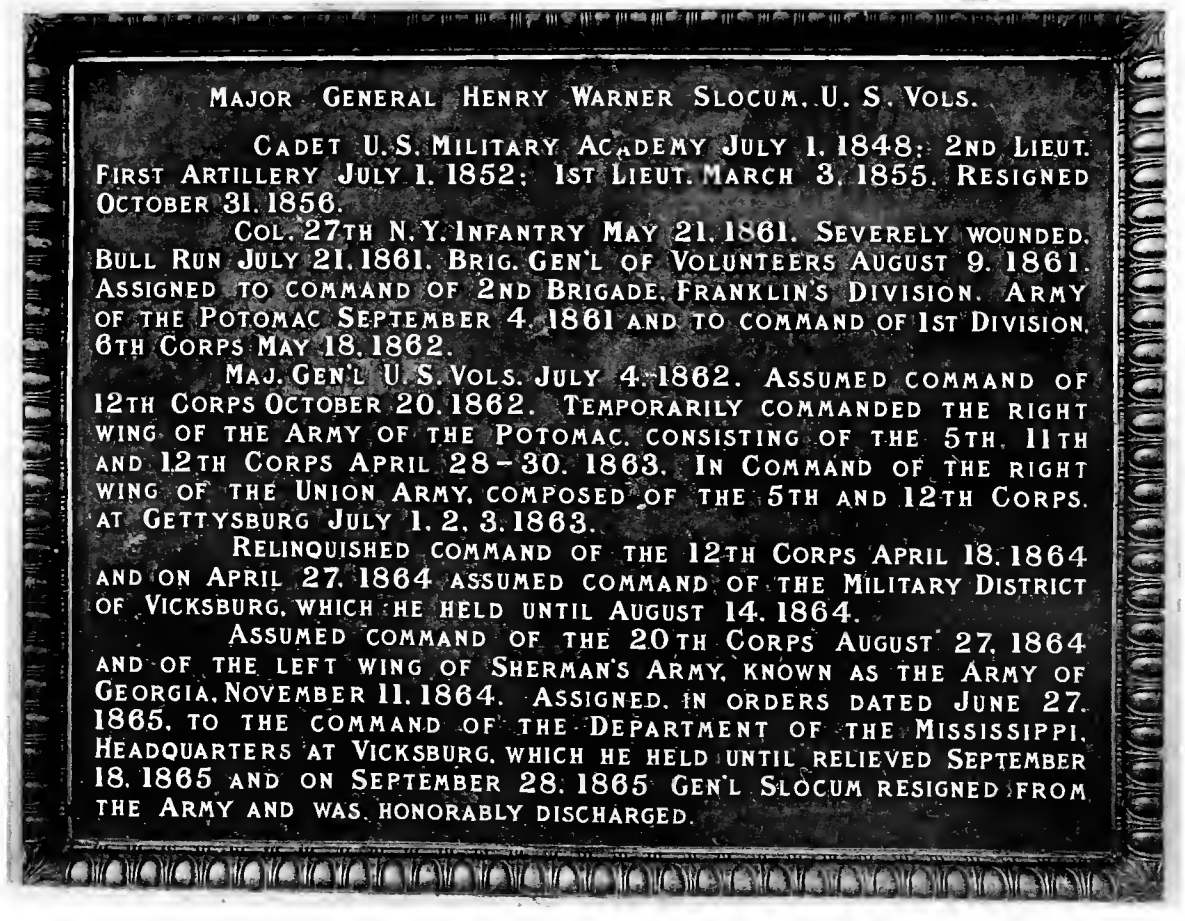
Oration by Gen. James C. Rogers, Twelfth Army Corps.

Mr. Chairman, Comrades of the Old Twelfth Corps and of the Army of the Potomac:

It is with extreme embarrassment that I arise before this great gathering of fair women and brave men to take the part assigned me in these exercises, especially so after listening to the brilliant addresses of our chairman and the other distinguished orators who have preceded me. For the audiences I have been accustomed to talk to have not, as a rule, contained soldiers of national reputation, governors of great states, mayors of great cities, and judges of our highest courts, like those who surround me here to-day. But, while there is embarrassment to an unskilled speaker like myself in such an audience, and with such surroundings on this famous battlefield, there is inspiration in it too — enough almost to make the mute speak and the tongue-tied eloquent. And I would that it might touch my lips right here and now, so that I might say something worthy of you, my comrades, and worthy of the great soldier we are here to-day to honor.

But then I remember that I was doubtless invited to make this address not because of any special gift of oratory, but because it was my good fortune to have been associated with General Slocum during a large part of his brilliant military career, and because I knew him and loved him with the enthusiastic ardor that the young soldier feels for the chief in whom he trusts and believes. And General Slocum had that in him, both as officer and as man, to inspire confidence, admiration and love.

During the four years of that tremendous contest which we call the Civil War it was my lot to be connected, in an humble way, with both the Eastern and Western armies, and to come in contact, more or less closely, with some of the most notable generals of those times. The first year and a half I served in the brigade of the distinguished soldier whose name is inseparably connected with this battlefield, and whose statue dominates the hill to our left, as



BRONZE TABLET

in his life his spirit dominated every battlefield where he was present — General Winfield Scott Hancock. And in the west, in the Atlanta campaign, after the consolidation of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps under his immediate command, I served under and saw much of that other brilliant soldier and ex-army commander, General Joseph Hooker, who, if he did not win at Chancellorsville, and was not permitted to command upon this field, yet, in his "Battle above the Clouds" and at Peach Tree Creek proved that he was of the stuff of which fighting generals are made. There were others, also, almost as distinguished, whom I had the good fortune to meet and know and form an opinion of.

And now, after all this time has passed, with the impressions of those early days strengthened by the judgment of maturer years, I can truthfully say that in the combination of high soldierly qualities with the purest patriotism, in decision of character and the power of quick adaptation of means to the end to be accomplished, in coolness and courage, Henry W. Slocum was the peer of them all. He had not, perhaps, the magnificent personal appearance of Hancock, "the superb" — few had. He lacked, perhaps, the glitter and dash of some others I might name. He could not sit a horse with the picturesque impressiveness of Gen. Joe Hooker, no one else could; for when in full uniform, mounted upon that magnificent white charger presented to him by the citizens of New York, he rode down the line, at the head of his brilliant staff, he seemed to his admiring soldiers the very impersonation of the spirit of battle, a warrior born to lead them to victory. But if General Slocum lacked some of these minor accessories of the popular hero, he had all the sterling, soldierly qualities which the others possessed, and some of head and heart in which the others were deficient.

But I was to speak to you of the Twelfth Corps. That corps was organized in September, 1862, from a part of what had been called the Army of Virginia and a number of new regiments. It was a fine body of troops and was splendidly officered. Look at some of its brigade commanders! There was General Thomas L. Kane of Philadelphia, formerly of the famous "Bucktails;" General Ruger of the Second Brigade, a splendid officer; and General Greene, that grand old veteran who so gallantly defended this hill, when on the afternoon of the second day's battle the rest of the corps was sent over to reinforce the left. The First Division was commanded by

genial, kind-hearted, and valorous General Alpheus S. Williams, "Pap" Williams, as his boys loved to call him; while General John W. Geary, afterwards Governor of this State, commanded the Second Division. And over all and inspiring all with his high soldierly qualities and calm, quiet, but impressive personality, was the great leader whose bronze statue looks down upon us here to-day.

General Slocum, although a West Point graduate and regular army officer, had resigned from the army before the breaking out of the war, and his mind had been broadened and humanized, as it were, by daily contact with all kinds of men in civil life. He knew and recognized better than most officers who had remained in the service and whose duties had run in the narrow channels of army life in time of peace, that the young officers and men of the volunteer regiments of those days were not of the kind that had been in the habit of enlisting before the war, but were of the best blood of the land and could be moulded and made effective as soldiers more by kindness and by the inspiration of duty than by rough handling and the compulsion of fear. And during the months that followed, both in the Valley and at Stafford Court House, he brought the Twelfth Corps, whose emblem was the Star, into such a state of discipline and effectiveness that it compared favorably with even the gallant corps of our Chairman, and what higher praise could I give it than that. And in the battle of Chancellorsville, which began so brilliantly, only to end in defeat, General Slocum so skillfully handled his corps that, although it was largely composed of regiments that had never been under fire, it did not waver when the troops on its right were swept away and thrown into a panic such as sometimes comes to the bravest troops when surprised and attacked at a disadvantage. With his right turned, Hooker did probably the best that could be done under the circumstances. At midnight Slocum swung forward his corps at right angles to the line of breastworks which it had built and occupied in the morning, and there at the edge of the woods at the foot of Chancellorsville Hill, with its First Division just to the left of the famous plank road, with the gallant Corps of our Chairman on its right, across the road, it fought on that Sunday morning in May as only brave men fight, until the line was crumbling all about it.

It is perhaps enough to say that General Hooker was so impressed with the coolness and skill displayed by General Slocum in that battle,

and the gallantry of his Corps under the most trying circumstances, that when Lee had crossed the Potomac and Hooker was following him and planning how to fight and defeat the Confederate Army, he decided to send General Slocum with the Twelfth Corps and the ten thousand Union troops then lying idle and useless at Harpers Ferry to the upper Potomac, there to head off and attack and defeat what was left of Lee's Army, after the Army of the Potomac had fought and defeated it somewhere in this vicinity, and driven it back towards the river. But when Hooker applied to General Halleck for the troops at Harpers Ferry for this purpose, he was met with a curt refusal, and, stung thereby, he tendered his resignation of the command of the Army. I don't really believe that he supposed it would be accepted. But it was, and as promptly as it was given; for in those days it was the fashion of those in authority at Washington to decapitate any commander of the Army of the Potomac who failed to win a victory. Three heads had already fallen into the official basket — McDowell's, McClellan's and Burnside's — and Hooker's made the fourth.

With General Meade's appointment to command in Hooker's place, General Slocum's assignment to the duty I have mentioned fell with it. Of course, it is mere speculation now; but one cannot help thinking of what would have been the result, if, after Lee's army had been defeated here and promptly followed up, a cool determined fighter like General Slocum, with twenty thousand men had been at the fords of the upper Potomac to head it off. In that event, how much of that army and its immense baggage train would have recrossed the river into Virginia? But it was not to be. Meade, when appointed, although immediately given control of the ten thousand troops at Harpers Ferry, which had been refused to his predecessor, ignored Hooker's plan to locate a strong force on the upper Potomac to cut off Lee's retreat; and so Slocum lost that opportunity of fighting a battle on his own account, and with the Twelfth Corps pressed on to this place.

I remember as though it were but yesterday, that long, dry and dusty march on July 1, 1863. The men had tramped many miles through heat and dust, under a burning sky, and were ready to drop with fatigue, when late in the afternoon, General Slocum came riding by us towards the head of the column. As he passed he said in his cheery, pleasant way, as I have no doubt he said to the regi-

ments behind us, "Press on, men, as rapidly as you can! There is fighting in front of us. Press on and follow me!" And at once that tired and drooping column straightened up as if a thrill of new life and strength and energy had been put into it, and hurrying on came upon the field of battle too late for that day's conflict, but ready for the fighting of the days that followed. Such was General Slocum's power over his troops.

I will not attempt to describe the battle; it has been done too often by speakers far abler than I. But even after nearly forty years have passed, as we gaze upon the scene of the conflict, we can realize what a cold thrill of apprehension swept through the North when it was known that the Confederate Army, elated with its success at Chancellorsville, was here in the State of Pennsylvania, and that upon the issue of the conflict to be waged upon this field hung in a measure the destiny of the Nation. If General Lee succeeded in defeating the Union Army here, what was to prevent his sweeping on to Harrisburg and Philadelphia, and even to New York, levying contributions of money and material as he went and leaving a broad swath of ruin and desolation behind him? And we all know that at that time the governments of Europe were only waiting for such a victory to recognize and acknowledge the Southern Confederacy.

The Union Army had never fought a great battle in a Northern State before, and the touch of the free soil under its feet and the breath of the free air from these hills seemed to inspire every man with fresh courage and determination. It was a battle of giants. Gazing back now, through the long era of peace and prosperity that has come to us as a reunited nation, where one flag floats alike over North and South and East and West, we can look upon those armies without the old sectional feeling of bitterness and recognize the merits of each.

Over on Seminary Ridge and along the line in our front was arrayed the finest and best equipped military force that the South had ever put into the field. It was commanded by Gen. Robert E. Lee, one of the ablest soldiers of the nineteenth century; and under him were such brilliant lieutenants as Longstreet, Hill, Ewell, Pickett, Pender and Gordon. It was an army of whose fighting qualities any nation might be proud. And it had but one superior, and that was composed of the long line of blue, stretching

from Little Round Top, through Devil's Den and the open fields to Cemetery Ridge, and along the crest of this hill where we are gathered to-day. Over it was its new commander, General Meade, and under him such brilliant leaders as Hancock and Slocum and Sickles and Sedgwick and Warren, and many others, some of whom are with us here on this occasion.

I will not attempt to describe the events of those momentous days — of the attack on the left where the gallant Sickles fell, desperately wounded — of Ewell's repeated attempts to carry this hill, where our hero commanded — of the last desperate assault upon the centre, where the dauntless Hancock raged and swore and fought and fell, with two Confederate generals dead right there at the Bloody Angle, and our own gallant and beloved General Webb lying wounded not thirty paces away.

Suffice it to say that after three days of the most desperate fighting of modern times, when the next morning the sun of our natal day came up over the hills, that gallant line of blue was still there with Old Glory — the only thing of beauty on all that war-swept landscape — still floating above it, while the opposing line of gray, with its stars and bars, had disappeared from the front, and that night was hastening with all speed to place the Potomac between it and its conquerors.

Oh would that Slocum and his twenty thousand had been where Hooker designed to put them then! In that event, how many of that defeated army would have escaped across the river?

I am not much of a believer in special providences, especially in war; I am rather inclined to accept the Napoleonic maxim that "Providence favors staunch hearts and the heaviest battalions." But it did seem as though a higher power smiled upon our cause when, in the very crisis of our country's peril, the dawn of that Independence Day brought us this decisive victory here and that other glorious success at Vicksburg on the Mississippi.

The official records of this battle show that the casualties on both sides were over forty-four thousand,— much more than the entire loss in all the battles of some later wars that we have heard so much of recently. The dead of the Union Army included all ranks from Major General Reynolds, commanding the First Corps, down through all grades to the man with the musket who gave all he had — his heart's blood — for his country, while among the wounded

were our Chairman, General Hancock, General Webb, and thousands of others.

On that Fourth of July morning there they lay where they had fallen, the dead and the dying, the blue and the gray, in close proximity to each other. Think of the loss of life here, and then remember that this battle was fought with old muzzle loading muskets and cannon, and not with the improved weapons of to-day. Every time a soldier fired he had to go through the nine motions of the old time manual of arms before he was ready to fire again. Think of it! If these two armies had been equipped with the breech loading rifles and rapid fire guns of to-day, and had fought with the same desperation and courage, it would seem that not even a corporal's guard would have been left to claim the victory. But as it was, there was enough precious blood poured out upon this battlefield and a hundred others to ensanguine the land before peace came. And of those who were living at the close of the war, how many are alive to-day? Nearly all the great leaders who fought in this battle, and a large majority of the men who fought under them, have answered their last roll call here, and casting off the blue uniform of earth have passed up to the blue of the skies.

I say all have gone up there, and I mean it. No one need tell me that the spirits of those gallant boys who fought on this field have gone down the other way. We cannot believe it. Those brave young fellows who did the fighting here and elsewhere in those red letter days — officers and privates — may not all have been saints — I am afraid some of them were not. They may at times have used language more forcible than pious in speaking of traitors and copperheads: they may not have strictly applied the doctrine of *meum* and *tcum* when inspecting a rebel smokehouse, or chicken roost, or even a stray sutler's wagon; they may have assembled in their little tents and gotten down upon their knees around a cracker box too often to shuffle bits of pasteboard, and not often enough for penitence and prayer; but what did such petty faults amount to in comparison with the blood they so freely shed for their country. I believe that in the eyes of the recording angel their blood wiped all such peccadillos out, and that Saint Peter, who is said to guard the portals up there, never swings back the golden gate so willingly or says "God speed you" so fervently, as when he lets the spirit of a gallant soldier in.

Oh, that grand old Army of the Potomac! Abused and maligned by the newspapers of those days, as is the fashion of some of them to abuse our gallant army to-day — nagged on to attempt impossibilities like the cry of "On to Richmond," "On to Richmond," in the first months of the war — sometimes miscommanded — sometimes meeting defeat and disaster — but never conquered in spirit — always ready to rally and fight again — and, when given a fair chance, to win victories, as on this historic field of Gettysburg.

We of the Twelfth Corps were very proud of our connection with the Army of the Potomac; and when not long after this battle we were down on the Rappahannock again confronting the same old foe, and the news came of Rosecrans' repulse at Chickamauga, and the government alarmed at the perilous condition of his army ordered the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps to hasten to its support, we were very sorry to leave our old comrades here; but we certainly thought that those Western troops would welcome us with open arms, and look up to us as bringing the prestige of Gettysburg and the Army of the Potomac with us. But when we got down there we found that those western troops were not looking up to anything from the east; but, on the contrary, rather turned up their noses at the Army of the Potomac, and with true western modesty appeared to think that about all there was of skill and bravery in the Union Army was located out there in the west.

When we got down into Tennessee, the Twelfth Corps was immediately stationed along the lines of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, from Murfreesboro to Bridgeport, to guard the line of communication and supplies. And during the months that followed we should have had a rather pleasant time of it, if it hadn't been for a certain Confederate cavalry leader, who kept swooping down upon the railroad at unexpected times and places, tearing up the track and burning the bridges. We would get a dispatch that the rebel cavalry were approaching some little station, and, hurriedly tumbling into and on top of any empty train of cars that was at hand, we would dash at full speed down the road and usually arrive just in time to find the rails torn up, the bridge burning, and the tails of the rebel cavalry whisking a defiant farewell to us as they disappeared over the hills in the distance. For the leader of this force was too skilled and wary a soldier to remain and fight his horsemen against infantry from the Army of the Potomac.

But I was about to tell you of our first meeting with the western troops. When General Slocum arranged his Corps along the railroad, your speaker was assigned to the command of the post at Bridgeport, Alabama. It was on the Tennessee River, which at that point was very wide and divided by a large island; an immense railroad bridge had spanned it, but the Southern Army had very ungraciously burnt it when retreating a few months before. Bridgeport was, therefore, the southern terminus at that time of the only railroad connecting the army at Chattanooga with the North. On the other side of the river was stationed a division of our western troops, with a pontoon bridge uniting us.

As soon as we had our camp arranged and settled, we resumed our daily guard mounting, drills and dress parades. In the latter, every officer was, of course, required to appear in full uniform, with sash and sword, and all the men with boots blacked, brasses burnished, and in all respects duly equipped, as had been our custom when in camp in Virginia. Now to the western troops on the other side of the river these things seemed uncalled for and ridiculous. They were brave fellows, those western lads, as we learned afterwards in many a hard fought battle, and big-hearted and generous; but they had very little regard for parades or drills or personal appearance. Most of them wore old slouch hats instead of the regulation cap, and various kinds of footgear; and they seemed to think that if they only kept their muskets in order and their cartridge boxes full, it didn't matter much how other things looked. And they rather resented the wearing of caps and collars — "paper collars," they called them — and the otherwise trim and natty appearance of the soldiers from the east. They would come over the river in groups, and, standing just outside the camp grounds, watch our evolutions. What they seemed to admire and yet resent the most were our dress parades. As at the tap of the drum each company, trim and soldier-like, marched out from its company street and wheeled into line on the colors, and the ranks were formed and the music beat off, and the manual of arms was gone through with, like the click of a single gun, and the first sergeants reported, and the orders were read and the parade dismissed — they would watch it all and grin and nudge each other and wonder, "if those paper collar galoots from the Army of the Potomac and their dandy officers thought that was anything like war." And while they were good enough

HEADQUARTERS PARTY, SEPT. 20, 1902.

Seated on the front line, beginning on the left of the picture are—Adjutant General Henry, Major Richardson, General Webb, Governor Odell, General Sickles, Major Bradley, Mr. H. W. Slocum, Mr. Clarence R. Slocum, and Mr.

to admit that those eastern chaps could drill and parade and handle their muskets to beat the band, they insisted that "they'd be dog-goned" if they believed they could fight along side of their division.

But when these same Army of the Potomac fellows, under Hooker and Geary, charged steadily up the sides of Lookout Mountain in the face of a deadly fire, and, driving the Confederates down the other side, planted Old Glory on its top; and, especially, when in one of the early fights of the spring campaign, this very division that in the winter lay across the river from us, was suddenly attacked in force, and, taken by surprise, fell back in disorder; and that division of the Twelfth Corps, which included the very troops whose drills and parades they had laughed at, was ordered up, and, with the precision of the east, swept in a long, steady line right over them and retook and held the position they had lost — we heard no more about those "dandy officers and paper-collared galoots from the Army of the Potomac" not being able to fight alongside of their division.

And what was thought of them by that grim old chieftain, Tecumseh Sherman — who at one time was considered at Washington to be crazy, but whose craziness was of the kind the War Department ought always to keep on tap, along with that brand of whiskey which General Grant's enemies claimed he took too much of — what Sherman thought of them is shown by the fact that when he had captured Atlanta — and the Twelfth Corps boys were the first to get into the city, and was arranging that wonderful march to the sea which cut the Confederacy in twain, he sent back to Chattanooga a large share of his western troops but took all the boys from the Army of the Potomac and their "dandy officers" with him; — and, more than that, he assigned the two major-generals who had come from the east with them to the command of the right and left wings into which he had divided his army. That he made no mistake in the selection of our Chief is proved by the record of that marvelous campaign through Georgia and the Carolinas, and especially by the fact that when he had got up into North Carolina and the left wing was near a little place called Bentonville, marching leisurely along through the mud without anything to indicate that there was a fight ahead, Kilpatrick's cavalry came rushing back with the report that Joe Johnston's whole command was just in front of us, and in short order the battle of Bentonville was on. It seems that General Johnston, having collected an army of forty thousand, and knowing that Sherman was with

the right wing marching on a parallel road miles away, thought he could fall upon Slocum's command and annihilate it before Sherman and the rest of the army could come up. That Confederate chieftain had made many mistakes before, but never a worse one than that, for instead of annihilating Slocum's command, he was so neatly and completely defeated himself that he lost all stomach for fighting thereafter, and in a short time surrendered his whole army to General Sherman. The battle of Bentonville was Slocum's battle, and General Sherman gave him full credit for it.

Look at his record, briefly summed up. Educated at West Point; soon afterwards, in time of peace, resigning from the army; then, at the first bugle call to arms, raising the gallant Twenty-seventh New York Volunteers and going to the front as its colonel; wounded at Bull Run; promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and then, within a few months, assigned to the command of a division in the old Sixth Corps, distinguishing himself at the battle of Gaines's Mill and other battles of the Peninsular campaign, and afterwards at Crampton's Pass and Antietam; then promoted to the command of the Twelfth Army Corps, he made it the magnificent fighting machine whose prowess at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg has given it a conspicuous place in history; and in the west, as the trusted lieutenant of the dauntless Sherman, in his marvelous marches and campaigns, he ends the fighting in that department with his victory at Bentonville. Not one mistake, not one event in those long years of active leadership which we would wish to blot out. And then, when the war is over and that for which he fought is won, he sheathes his sword and returns to the peaceful avocations of the citizen. Oh, life is worth living when it can furnish such a record as this! Is it any wonder that the officers and men whom he commanded trusted and believed in him and loved him? Is it any wonder that the great State of New York erects this magnificent statue to his memory on this historic battlefield, which as the years go by shall more and more become the Mecca of American patriotism and valor? Here our children's children shall come, and, gazing at this statue, and others like it, and these hundreds of monuments of regiments and batteries, and those thousands of little nameless granite slabs over yonder in the cemetery, be inspired with new love for the Union of these States, and new reverence for all that is noble and beautiful and good in the lives of those who fought and won our country's victory here.

Oration by Col. Archie E. Baxter, 20th N. C.

General Sickles, Ladies and Gentlemen — Comrades:

Our old camp fires have gone out, we pitch and strike our tents no more, and the reveille no longer awakens us from our slumbers. Traces of forts, earth works, and abattis are passing away. Upon fields that echoed with the turmoil of battle, the shouts of victory, the cries of wounded and dying, we see churches and school houses, and hear the hum of industry, the laughter of children, the song of birds, and the rustle of waving grain.

Nearly forty years ago! And yet in the midst of these impressive surroundings, how thrillingly come thronging back memories of the old times. Once more we meet where was fought the mightiest and most fateful battle of the war. Here rebellion reached its highest mark, and was, by the valor, courage, and devotion of heroic souls contending for national unity, the freedom and uplifting of a race, stayed and turned back forever.

We meet on ground hallowed by the blood of patriots, and sacred as an encampment of our soldier dead. As we entered, it seemed as if unseen hands had thrown wide the gates; that they saluted the living throng, and that shadowy forms were keeping noiseless tread beside us.

While this was a great national battlefield where every State was heroically represented and upon which even the vanquished won imperishable renown, there is no other field upon which the sons of our imperial State may more proudly erect memorials in honor of their soldier dead. In a large sense Gettysburg was New York's battlefield. During the three momentous days in which the awful struggle swept from Seminary Ridge to Round Top, along the blazing heights of Cemetery Hill, through the Peach Orchard and over the Wheatfield, in front of the Bloody Angle and through the Devil's Den, nearly one-third of the mighty throng who wore the blue were New York veterans. When the smoke

of this battle of the giants had lifted, when joyous bells were pealing and our people singing glad hosannas, there was weeping and wailing in stricken homes all over our great State over the loss of nearly one-third of those who lay here wounded, dying and dead, — wounded, dying and dead that they might keep Old Glory flying in the name of liberty and humanity, of their country and their God.

Had New York called the roll of her generals who rendered conspicuous services on this famous field, in addition to the name of the great soldier whose deeds we commemorate to-day, what a brilliant galaxy would have answered, "Here." High among that distinguished array would have stood the honored name of General Sickles, who, far out in front held back the advance of one-third of Lee's army for an hour, a precious sixty minutes, every one of which was worth to General Meade a hundred priceless lives; and the gallant General Webb, who was decorated with wounds and covered himself with glory in the desperate struggle at the Bloody Angle. Of New York's generals two were killed and seven wounded upon this field.

Our purpose here naturally recalls recollections of the illustrious soldier, who, at a crisis in this great struggle, averted irretrievable disaster and made possible the victory that marked the beginning of the end of the Confederacy, brought fresh renown to our arms and a luster to our flag that will never fade. As boys we loved, trusted and were proud of this great captain, and confidently followed wherever he led. To-day, as men, many of us grown old beyond our years, we are reverently gathered to honor his memory. Patriotic New York has been generous with monuments and statues in honor of her sons, but never has she erected one more deserved than is this in commemoration of the inestimable services to his State and Nation of her greatest soldier, Major-General Henry Warner Slocum.

How like is this bronze hero of to-day to the living soldier of forty years ago. True, there is no recognition in the sightless eyes; no greeting falls from the silent lips. The flag he loved, streaming gloriously in the sunlight, the strains of war-like music, the roar of cannon, or the acclaims of those he led to victory no longer thrill the warrior's heart. Heedless of all, he keeps, in this city of the dead, ceaseless vigils over the field he fought to save. And yet, as

we gaze on the grim, bronze figure, forgotten are the years that are gone. Once more we are boys in the presence of the general we loved so well. Again we see the kindly eyes, the grave, clean-cut, soldierly face, the erect martial figure. We see him in the quiet of the camp, dignified yet gentle and approachable, modest and unassuming. We see him with his staff, an elder brother in his military family, admired, honored and loved by all. Genial, warm-hearted and familiar, but through his innate dignity restraining excesses and exacting the respect due him and his exalted station. We see him in the heat of battle, cool, deliberate, and self-poised amid the wild excitement, the awful crash and roar.

But mark the change when he discovers that "some one has blundered." The whole man seems transfigured. There is a terrible intensity in the compressed lips, the blazing eyes. It is not the joy of conflict, the lust of battle, but rather the outward mark of a relentless will, of a determination to save what the blunder has endangered, to triumph for his flag and country. Let the battle roar, the lines surge and waver, he never loses his soldierly grasp of the situation. No sudden reverse discourages or dismays. Through scenes that blanch the faces and unnerve the hearts of veterans, he stands unshaken, noting, with eyes from which no detail escapes, the shifting scenes, and weighing with unerring skill the varying chances of battle. Never needlessly sacrificing his men, but relentless as death where victory may be won by supreme courage and sublime devotion. We see him on a score of historic fields stemming disaster, wresting victory from defeat, winning new glory for the flag, and from Bull Run to Bentonville, carving with stainless sword his name among the immortals. He still lives in the memory of his great achievements and exalted manhood. His example is a constant incentive to higher resolves and nobler deeds. For

> "When we see in our dreams that shadowy region
> Where the dead form their ranks at the wan drummer's sign,
> He rides on as of old at the head of his legion,
> And the word is still Forward, along the whole line."

It is my privilege to speak to-day for the Twentieth Corps; for the living and the dead of that army of heroes who, fresh from scenes of glorious conflict in the east, sought and won new laurels on

western fields; whose place in line was always where the battle raged the fiercest, whose flag was never lowered on the field, whose bugles never sounded a retreat, whose proud boast was that they never lost a color or a gun; and whose stars, like those that blazed on the flag they bore, grew brighter in every battle from Chattanooga to the sea. We saw the flashes of their musketry and heard the roar of their cannon at Wauhatchie's midnight fight. We watched them clamber up grim Lookout's rugged side and plant Old Glory in triumph above the clouds. We beheld them sweep grandly across the plain and with ringing cheers storm the towering heights of Missionary Ridge. We saw them between Chattanooga and Atlanta when, in all that hundred days, the "minies" never ceased singing in ghoulish glee; fighting gloriously, dying fearlessly, always victorious and constantly displaying the splendid courage, endurance and devotion that made them the equals of the best soldiers the world has ever seen.

"They won the name in the ancient game
Where the toss is death or life;
They won the name 'mid the searing flame
And the hell of an awful strife;
They bore the flag as true men should.
Can a better thing be said?
Then a cheer and a wreath, and a tear and a wreath
We give to the quick and the dead."

September second, at the head of the Twentieth Corps, General Slocum was the first to enter Atlanta. Then began preparations for a campaign, bold in conception, brilliant in execution, and fruitful in results, the march from the mountains to the sea; a campaign that split the Confederacy in twain, cut off the supplies upon which Lee's army had subsisted, filled with consternation the heart of that great soldier who saw that Sherman's real objective was a junction with Grant, made clear the hopelessness of further resistance, and sounded the death knell of the Rebellion.

To General Slocum, who so valiantly commanded the right wing of the army at Gettysburg, was intrusted the left wing of Sherman's army. It was a post of great importance, one that called into full play the superb soldierly traits of the experienced and resourceful general.

November fifteenth the army cut loose from the outer world and swung boldly towards the sea. As General Slocum's command was the first to enter Atlanta, so was it the first, in the person of the gallant General Henry A. Barnum and his men, to scale the Confederate works and enter the city of Savannah.

His mid-winter march with heavy wagon trains and artillery through the flooded swamps and across the swollen and bridgeless rivers of the Carolinas was one of General Slocum's greatest achievements. At Averasboro he won a handsome victory over General Hardee. Near Bentonville, General Joe Johnston, discovering that our two wings were moving by divergent routes, massed his whole force and entrenched in General Slocum's front, intending to surprise him and crush his army. But General Slocum, always alert, rapidly deployed in line of battle. While his men were hurriedly gathering fence rails for barricades, using their tin plates and cups for shovels, the shock of battle broke upon them. Out of the woods in front burst the gallant gray lines. Their flags were waving gayly in the sunlight; sabres flashed and bayonets gleamed. To our waiting lines fronting the onset it was a thrilling sight. On, though ploughed and torn by our artillery, with the steadiness of veterans confident of success, they came. Midway across the field they broke into a run and, with the old Confederate yell, came sweeping towards us. Suddenly out from our ranks leaped sheets of living flame. Volley after volley ran flashing, rattling and hissing down our lines. Thinned and staggered by the withering fire, they wavered, broke, and went reeling back across the field. Again and again with desperate courage they recklessly charged, and though men of the blue and the gray fell side by side, six times they were driven back over a field thickly strewn with their wounded and dead. Then, as the sun broke through the smoke of battle and bathed our flag in a flood of glory, from our triumphant lines the old Union cheer burst from the lips of veterans, who, in grim silence, had fought like heroes and splendidly won the last battle of Sherman's Army.

Bentonville was known as Slocum's battle. Here practically ended his military career. The war over, the Union saved and liberty proclaimed throughout the land, his heart turned longingly towards the pursuits of peace, and he gladly sheathed his sword forever.

As a soldier he had never reached the dazzling summit of supreme

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As a soldier he had never reached the dazzling summit of supreme

command; but he had proved equal to every trust committed to him. His heart had been untouched by intrigue, quarreling, rivalry, envy or disappointed ambition. Unmindful of personal advancement he sought only his country's safety and glory. Heedless of all else save personal honor, he was content to do his best modestly and resolutely where duty called him, calm, strong and fearless in the gloom of disaster and in the glory of victory.

As a citizen, though crowned with the lustre of great achievements, he bore himself so meekly there was no reminder of the days when his words were potent upon fields of mighty conflict. Successful, esteemed, and loved, he might, had he but consented to "stoop to conquer," have held the highest places within the gift of his grateful countrymen. Amid the cares and responsibilities of an active life, he took pleasure in guarding with watchful care the welfare of the helpless veterans at the State Soldiers' Home, and in advancing the educational interests of the children of the city of his adoption. Time had already whitened the honored head, but had left throbbing within the old soldier's breast, a great, tender, loving heart. When the "Taps" sounded and his light went out forever, his city lost her most illustrious citizen, his State her greatest soldier.

Comrades, I have spoken mainly of our great commanders. Were yon bronze figure addressing you, much of the credit, and justly too, would be given to the fathers and mothers of those trying days, and to the men of the rank and file. Who can measure the sacrifice that gives the first born to the perils of battle, or the grief that mourns his untimely death? Who can fathom the love of country that sends another from the stricken home, to fill the gap in the line made by a brother's fall? The pathetic story of those who mourned, with a grief that refused to be comforted, may be told in the words of the old man whose son came not back from the front:

"There hangs a sabre and there a rein,
With a rusty buckle and a green curb chain;
A pair of spurs on the old gray wall,
A mouldering saddle,— well, that's all.

Come out to the stable, it is not far;
The moss-covered door is hanging ajar;
Look within! there's an empty stall
Where once stood a charger,— well, that's all.

The good black horse came riderless home,
Flecked with blood spots as well as foam;
See yonder hillock, where dead leaves fall;
The black horse pined to death,— that's all.

All, my God! it is all I can speak,
Question me not, for I'm old and weak;
The saddle and sabre hang on the wall,
The black horse pined to death,— that's all."

There is a desire in every heart to be remembered. We shrink from the belief that we will be forgotten when we are laid away. Statues, shafts, history, song and story guard the memories of the mighty chieftains. What of the heroic souls whose bleeding bodies paved their way to immortality? Slocum will live in the story of his great deeds at Culp's Hill and on a score of other celebrated fields. What of the men who lay in furrows around those gory heights and the hilltops that blazed with flame? What of the unsung dead whose blood enriched the wheatfield and those who lay among the old gray rocks and boulders in the Devil's Den? What of the rank and file whose steeds after the battle wheeled riderless at the bugle call as if guided by invisible hands? What of those who sleep where they fell on countless fields, or among swamps and everglades, beneath the moss clad oak and the sighing pine, under the dead grass and the withered leaves? No matter how daring their deeds, how sublime their heroism, how exalted their devotion, they live only in the general story of the great struggle in which they fell. Yet of each of those "uncrowned kings" some one can say:

"I knew him and also I knew,
When he fell on the battle-swept ridge,
The poor battered body that lay there in blue,
Was only a plank in the bridge
Over which some would pass to a fame,
That will live while the bright stars shine;
Your hero is known by an echoing name,
But the boy of the musket is mine."

We cannot commemorate with marble or bronze the deeds of each of the rank and file, but we should revere the memory of even the humblest soldier who fell in defense of his country.

Henry Warner Slocum

Every memorial in this enclosure is a mute reminder of sacrifices made to defend principles and make them enduring. Each recalls the thrilling story of four long years of waiting and watching, of hope and fear, of success and defeat, of gladness and heartaches and of courage, endurance and devotion as sublime as the world has ever witnessed.

The highest tribute we can pay the memories of our soldier dead is to sacredly guard and make immortal that for which they fought and fell. They died for the preservation of the Union, for liberty, for their country, for the flag and all it stands for. Have we faithfully endeavored not only to perpetuate, but to develop and perfect the noble heritage they left us? If not, the dedication of monuments and statues would be but an idle and meaningless ceremony. To-day our Union rests on as firm a foundation and is as stable as the everlasting hills. Were it assailed none would defend it more loyally than those who so valiantly strove to rend it asunder. Liberty reigns everywhere within our borders, and America is in truth not merely the land of the free, but we have, in the name of humanity, broken the shackles that bound the oppressed of other shores. We have given to the freedmen rights won amid the throes, the agony of battle, while defending the flag so many of them died to save. We have kept that flag, at home and abroad, stainless and growing brighter with an ever-increasing glory. We have stood for the enactment of wise, just and beneficent laws and for their honest and fearless enforcement. We are elevating the standard of American citizenship and making our government, in all that contributes to a country's happiness, intelligence, progress and prosperity, the foremost in the world. We have taken our proper place in the forefront among the great nations of the earth, and are exerting a potential influence in advancing the cause of liberty, justice, humanity and civilization; and for the first time in our history our flag commands respect on every land and sea.

Comrades, we can truly say to those who slumber here, "We have kept the faith. Rest in peace."

In the old days you were relied upon to protect upon the field all that was dearest to your countrymen as citizens, and you were faithful to that trust. The sons of those who then wore the blue and the gray are bravely, generously and unselfishly upholding our flag under the blazing sun and in the pitiless storm, in the deadly

swamps and trackless jungles, amid foes who exult over their treachery and fiendish cruelty. Our honor, the lustre of our flag, are as safe in their keeping as they were in yours on the battlefields of the Rebellion.

In the name of patriotism, of loyalty and of the flag they bear, criticise them less and praise their valor and devotion more. Let us as a people make for our country a tithe of their sacrifices, and we will awaken to a truer sense of the duties of citizenship, love our country more zealously, advance with quickened stride the cause of liberty and humanity, and prolong the days of our republic's greatness and glory.

Benediction by Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, D. D.

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God and of his Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord; And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, be among you, and remain with you always. Amen.

Reunion of Greene's New York Brigade, Culp's Hill, Gettysburg, Pa., September 19, 1902.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

Introductory Address, Capt. George K. Collins, President.
Music by the Band.
Poem, "Slocum the Soldier," by Col. Juan Lewis.
Song, "America."
Oration, "The Right Wing," by Col. Lewis R. Stegman.
Music by the Band.
Address by Gen. John A. Reynolds, Chief of Artillery.
Address by Gen. Robert Avery.
Music by the Band.

These exercises were held on the forenoon of September 19, 1902, at Culp's Hill, on the ground occupied by Greene's Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg. The veterans of the five regiments composing the brigade formed column in the public square, and, headed by the band, marched to Culp's Hill. The theme of the oration, addresses and poem related closely to the operations of General Slocum and the right wing on this battlefield; but more particularly to the services rendered by the Twelfth Corps, and the troops from other commands which assisted in the defense of this important position. At the close of the exercises the veterans broke ranks and spent an hour or more in viewing the regimental monuments, and talking over the stirring scenes in which they participated on this historic ground.

Foreword.

The following biographical sketch of Major General Henry W Slocum, and the historical narrative of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps, have been compiled by Col. William F. Fox, of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps.

Appreciating the loyalty, diligence, and zeal displayed by Colonel Fox in his work, the Commissioners decline responsibility for the views and criticisms expressed by General Sherman, General Slocum, and others, in the interesting letters now, for the first time, published.

General Slocum, himself, long before his decease, had chosen Colonel Fox as the historian of the Twelfth Army Corps. General Slocum's family kindly placed his correspondence at the disposal of Colonel Fox in the preparation of the biography.

THE COMMISSION.

Life of General Slocum.

By William F. Fox, Lieut. Col., U. S. V.

Henry Warner Slocum

THE War for the Union brought many persons into prominence, some of whom achieved renown by merited success, while others attracted temporary notice by their failures. After the lapse of years a better opportunity is afforded to study the men and the events then occupying the public mind. The truly great still command the attention of the historian; the others who, with little cause, held for awhile the public eye and ear, have passed off the stage and no longer divert attention from the real actors in those stirring scenes. As distance is necessary in viewing rightly the proportions of the lofty mountain or grand cathedral, so time alone can furnish a true perspective in estimating the deeds and character of the real heroes in that great epoch of our national life.

Henry Warner Slocum was born September 24, 1826, in Delphi, a quiet, pretty village in Onondaga county, N. Y. For three generations his ancestors had lived in Newport, R. I., whence his father, Matthew B. Slocum, moved to Albany, N. Y., in 1812. While residing at the State capital he married Miss Mary Ostrander, of that city. They moved to Delphi in 1817, where the elder Slocum engaged in mercantile pursuits. Of the eleven children in the family Henry was the sixth. Though the business of the village merchant was prosperous as accounted in those days, yet his income hardly sufficed to give his children the advantages accorded to the rich. Young Slocum had ambitions which could be gratified only by earning money for himself. To obtain the higher education which he keenly desired he engaged in business ventures of a minor character which were successful, and at sixteen he secured a position as teacher in a country school.

General Howard, in speaking of Slocum's occupation at this time, says that in those days our schools were not systematized, the daily work of instruction was various and prolonged, and the management was no easy task. Yet there was no better training of the mind and character. As a preparation for his eventful life, he

acquired in this work some of that self-control, just dealing, and constant patience so characteristic of his later years. These virtues, entering into the life of the young teacher, became a habit. While imparting instruction to others he acquired a thorough knowledge of the fundamental studies of an education which he retained and used throughout his life.*

In accordance with his plans for acquiring a more liberal education and preparation for a college course he entered the seminary at Cazenovia, N. Y., and afterward studied at the State Normal School in Albany. He then returned to Cazenovia, where he resumed teaching, this time in one of the public schools of that town.

The Mexican War was now the one pervading topic of interest throughout the land. The brilliant successes of the American army had imbued the people with warlike ardor and a pride in its soldiery. The young men of the country saw that public honors and preferment were reserved largely for military heroes.

Young Slocum entertained an ambition for a military career, and sought an appointment as a cadet at West Point. As there was no one in his circle of friends that had the special political influence to secure this favor, his first efforts to secure a nomination were fruitless. But with a youth of Slocum's temperament failure does not bring discouragement. The day finally came, replete with joyous pride, when he received notice that the Hon. Daniel F. Gott, member of Congress, had named him as the cadet from the Syracuse district. He entered West Point July 1, 1848.

General Howard in his reminiscences of Slocum's life at the Military Academy says: "It was my good fortune, my second year, during Cadet Slocum's first class-year, to room on the floor just below him. Of course there was class separation, and I was three years his junior; but he treated me with kindness and attention. His individuality especially impressed itself upon me. He expressed himself openly, when it cost so much to do so, as an opponent of human slavery. The pro-slavery sentiment at West Point was so great at that time that it derogated from one's popularity to express, or even to be suspected of, abolition sentiments. In spite of the opposition thus awakened, and his known attitude against prevailing

* Address of General Howard at the Memorial Service in honor of General Slocum, held by Rankin Post, G. A. R., at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

opinions, Cadet Slocum was, nevertheless, highly esteemed by all thoughtful fellow cadets, resulting in a lasting respect, which was only deepened by his subsequent life."

General Sheridan, who was at West Point with Slocum, pays this kindly tribute, in his Memoirs, to the memory of his old classmate: "Good fortune gave me for a room-mate a cadet whose education was more advanced than mine, and whose studious habits and willingness to aid others benefited me immensely. This room-mate was Henry W. Slocum, since so signally distinguished in both military and civil capacities as to win for his name a proud place in the annals of his country."

Although many of Slocum's classmates entered the Academy with the advantage of a collegiate education he maintained a high standing in his scholastic work and graduated seventh in a class of forty-three. He was immediately commissioned as second lieutenant in the First United States Artillery, and assigned to duty in Florida, at that time the seat of the Seminole War. After a year or more of service there he was ordered, in the latter part of 1853, to Fort Moultrie, S. C.

While on duty here the young lieutenant obtained a furlough, and returning to his native State took unto himself a wife, Miss Clara Rice of Woodstock, N. Y. It was the culmination of a happy acquaintance begun at Cazenovia Seminary when they were students in that institution. They were married February 9, 1854. The lieutenant brought his bride back with him to Fort Moultrie, where they remained three years. The post was one of the pleasantest stations in the army, and the social attractions of the city of Charleston helped to relieve the monotony of garrison life.

While here Slocum received a commission as first lieutenant, a promotion that brought with it an increase of pay which was highly acceptable, as he had no income aside from this source. Having considerable spare time at his disposal he utilized his leisure hours in reading law. During the three years he was stationed at Charleston he studied under the direction of Hon. B. C. Presley, who was afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court of South Carolina. In 1856 he was qualified for admittance to the bar.

Army life in time of peace had no attraction for Slocum. His regiment was ordered to Florida at a time when his child was ill, and the health of his wife would not permit a residence in that

climate. He resigned his commission in 1857, and taking up a residence in Syracuse, N. Y., he began the practice of law.

While in the army he developed the same business-like management in his private affairs which in later years made him a wealthy man. Without being parsimonious he was careful and economical. It is related of him that even while a cadet, he was able to save some money and to assist his father in a small way financially. From his moderate pay as a lieutenant during his four years of service, he accumulated enough to buy a home in Syracuse and some city lots, that he improved, on what is now called Slocum Avenue.

The young barrister speedily attained popularity in his new residence. He was elected Treasurer of Onondaga County, and in 1859 he represented this important district in the lower house of the State Legislature. He was appointed, also, as an instructor in the militia, with the rank of colonel.

With the firing of the first gun on Sumter his former military ambition revived. Moreover, as he explained to his sad, but brave young wife, he had been educated at the expense of his country and he felt it his duty to respond promptly at the first alarm.

He went to Albany, called upon the Governor and tendered his services to his State. He did not ask for a commission as brigadier-general or a colonelcy, although he was far better qualified to fill either position than most of the men to whom these appointments were given. He merely asked for authority to recruit a battery of light artillery. But the Governor, imbued with the optimistic spirit of the hour, gravely informed him that the South would be subdued without the use of artillery and the modest application was denied.* Slocum, whose residence at Charleston had made him familiar with the warlike attitude and terrible earnestness of the South, went home sadly discouraged over this condition of affairs.

A regiment having been raised in Onondaga County, some of his friends suggested that the command should be given to him; but this appointment was given to a militia colonel, and a good regiment lost the opportunity to gain the name and fame that would have been conferred could it have had the benefit of Slocum's services.

* From a historical sketch of General Slocum's life by Major William G. Tracy, of his staff.

It happened, however, that at this time the Twenty-seventh New York Infantry was organizing at the general rendezvous in Elmira. The officers determined that their regiment should have a West Point graduate as its colonel, and, although Slocum was known to them only by reputation, they tendered him the command. He accepted promptly and received his commission as colonel of the Twenty-seventh, with date of rank from May 21, 1861. His major was Joseph J. Bartlett, a brave, efficient officer who attained the rank of major-general before the close of the war. The companies for the most part were from Binghamton and the vicinity of Rochester. One company was composed almost entirely of students from the seminary at Lima, in Livingston County. The regiment, both officers and men, was composed of exceptionally good material, and under Slocum's instruction soon attained a proficiency in drill and discipline that made it one of the crack regiments in the war.

Leaving the Elmira Barracks, July tenth, the Twenty-seventh proceeded to Washington by rail where it was assigned to Hunter's Division of McDowell's army. At the battle of First Bull Run the regiment distinguished itself by its efficiency in action and its steadiness under a severe fire amid scenes of confusion and panic. Colonel Slocum attracted favorable attention by the conspicuous gallantry with which he handled his regiment in the battle until he was carried off the field, suffering from a severe wound. Colonel Andrew Porter, who succeeded to the command of the division when Hunter was disabled, acknowledges in his official report the meritorious services of "Col. H. W Slocum, who was wounded while leading his gallant Twenty-seventh to the charge, and Major J. J. Bartlett, who subsequently commanded it, and by his enthusiasm and valor kept it in action and out of the panic." Porter states, also, that, "Upon our first position the Twenty-seventh was the first to rally, and around it the other regiments engaged soon collected their scattered fragments." In this battle the Twenty-seventh sustained a loss of 130 killed, wounded, and missing.

The marked efficiency of the regiment in this, the first general engagement of the war, furnished ample evidence of the skillful training bestowed upon it by its accomplished colonel. The Government quickly recognized the military ability of the man whose services at Bull Run contrasted so strongly with the incapacity and ignorance displayed there by many favorites from whom

great things had been expected, and before Slocum had recovered from his wound he was cheered and gratified by the announcement of his promotion to the rank of brigadier.

The following letter, dated July 25, 1861, written by him to Mrs. Slocum while he was lying on his cot in the Washington Infirmary, supplies some interesting details of the battle:

My Dear Clara:

I attended services at Manassas last Sunday, but before the meeting closed I was obliged to depart for this city. For particulars see the New York daily papers.

I am now bolstered up in bed, making my first attempt at writing. I am as happy as a clam in high water. My regiment covered itself with glory. It was one of the first in, and the last out. Not a man showed the white feather. They fought until all their ammunition was expended, and when the stampede commenced, General McDowell ordered the officers to form all the regiments in line so as to make another stand, or, at least, make an orderly retreat. Finally, he gave up the attempt, and we were ordered to retreat.

After going a few rods the General made another attempt to check the utter rout of our troops. He again ordered the regiments to form in line, but ours was the only one that could be formed again. The General then cried out in a loud voice, "Soldiers, form on that noble regiment! We must make a stand." This same attempt was repeated a third time, with the same result. A person told me to-day that General McDowell reported all this to General Scott, with a high encomium on the regiment.

All this may appear singular in view of the accounts of the battle given in the New York papers, wherein our regiment is not even mentioned. But the truth is known in quarters where I desire to have it known. It is all right.

I had almost forgotten to tell you about my wound. It is doing well, and pains me but little. I would agree to take another just like it if I could thereby secure as good conduct on the part of my regiment when it takes the field again.

His commission as brigadier-general bore rank from August 9, 1861. He was assigned to the command of a brigade in Franklin's Division, composed of the Sixteenth and Twenty-seventh New York, Fifth Maine, and Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania, regiments which afterwards became famous by reason of their brilliant records.

But at the start they received some wholesome lessons from the disciplinarian who commanded them. For instance, in a letter written home from Alexandria, Va., October 11, 1861, Slocum says:

THE WATT'S HOUSE.

Battlefield of Gaines' Mill; headquarters of Gen. Fitz John Porter. Slocum's Division occupied a position nearby, and some of his wounded were carried to this house.

I have been very fortunate in securing control of my brigade. One day last week eighteen officers of the Sixteenth addressed a communication to me relative to one of my orders on the subject of depredations on private property. They thought it very severe, and "respectfully demanded" its modification. I at once placed every one of them in arrest, and confined them to their tents. Within a day or two the most humble apologies commenced pouring in, and finally every one was released. But it had a wonderful effect.

In May, 1862, Franklin's Division was ordered to the support of McClellan's army, then on the Peninsula in front of Yorktown. This stronghold having been evacuated just before Franklin's arrival, his troops proceeded up the York River without disembarking and landed at West Point or Eltham's Landing, The division engaged the enemy here, May seventh, an action in which the conduct of General Slocum "was admirable," as described in the official report of his superior. Upon the assignment of General Franklin to the command of the newly-organized Sixth Corps, Slocum succeeded him as general of the division — First Division, Sixth Corps. An old story this — the fortunes of war. In 1861 Slocum was vainly importuning the governor of his state for a commission as captain of artillery. A year later he rode at the head of one of the finest divisions in the Army of the Potomac.

At the battle of Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862, Slocum was ordered to the support of the Fifth Corps, which, under General Fitz John Porter, was holding Lee's army at bay while McClellan was withdrawing his trains and troops to the James River. Putting his three brigades in motion — Taylor's, Bartlett's and Newton's — he crossed the Chickahominy and relieved a portion of Porter's hard-pressed lines. In this action Slocum lost 2,075 men — over one-fourth of the number carried into action — and half of his regimental commanders were killed. But by the timely arrival and good fighting of his troops he contributed materially to the brilliant defense made by Porter and the successful withdrawal of his forces to the south bank of the river. During the succeeding conflicts of the Seven Days battle Slocum's Division participated in the engagements at Glendale and Malvern Hill. For the conspicuous services rendered by him at Gaines's Mill and in the movement to the James, he was promoted major-general. This new commission, dated July 4, 1862, was received by him while the army was encamped at Harrison's Landing on the James.

On July tenth he wrote to his family saying:

My last letter to you, written two or three days ago, was rather blue I think. I had then been here a day or two, and the reaction from the excitement of the previous ten days weighed heavily upon me. I felt weak and sick. I now feel better. But I must say that although this army is safe, I do not think the prospect of an early and successful termination of the war is bright.

I spoke in my letter of the twenty-sixth of being unwell. I was very weak on the twenty-seventh; was taken with a fit of vomiting and was obliged to dismount for a few minutes. I soon returned to the field, or rather I did not leave the field, but went to a place in the shade.

On Monday I had a position assigned to my division which I was to defend. I did it in my own way, and have the satisfaction of knowing that I saved hundreds of lives. I tried to save life by carefully posting my troops and using my artillery. I have allowed matters connected with our movements here to worry me until I came near being sick; but I know I can do no good. Things must take their course, and I made up my mind to get a good novel and try to forget everything here.

I feel better to-day than I have in several days. Rest and quiet will soon make me all right. I dreamed every night after our arrival of being on the march, of losing wagons, artillery, etc. I do not want you to think I have been sick, but I got rather worn and nervous.

When the Army of the Potomac was withdrawn from its position in front of Richmond and sent to the assistance of General Pope, Slocum's Division disembarked at Alexandria, Va., August twenty-fourth, and three days later encountered a portion of Jackson's army at Bull Run Bridge. A hot fight ensued, in which one of Slocum's brigade commanders, Gen. George W. Taylor, was killed.

But it was on the Maryland campaign, which soon followed, that Slocum achieved his greatest success as a division general. On Sunday, September 14, 1862, the Sixth Corps, General Franklin, found its advance contested by the enemy, strongly posted at Crampton's Gap, one of the passes in the South Mountain range. The road here ascends steeply through a narrow defile, wooded on both sides, and affording advantageous cover and position. The Confederates had posted their first line in rear of a stone wall at the base of the mountain, and had placed artillery in favorable positions on the road and at points on the slopes and summit of the mountain.

General Franklin finding that he could not use artillery with

Easterly Slope of South Mountain and Crampton's Pass. The Confederate infantry were in line behind the stone wall, covering the approach to the pass. They were driven from this position by Slocum's Division, and thence through the Pass, beyond the summit.

advantage, determined to carry the position by an infantry assault. For this purpose he selected Slocum's Division, the Second Division — Smith's — being held in reserve. Franklin says in his report that the advance of General Slocum was made with admirable steadiness through a well-directed fire from the batteries on the mountain. The line of battle formed, a charge was ordered. The men swept forward with a cheer, over the stone wall, dislodging the enemy and pursuing him up the mountain side to the crest of the hill and down the opposite slope. This single charge, sustained as it was over a great distance and up a rough ascent of unusual steepness, was decisive. The Confederates were driven in the utmost confusion, and allowed no opportunity to rally until the pass was cleared. Slocum was a conspicuous figure in the charge, his soldierly bearing and fearless exposure of his person to the enemy's fire winning enthusiastic praise from the troops who fought at his side.

In this affair Slocum captured 400 prisoners from seventeen different regiments, four stands of colors, 700 small arms, and one piece of artillery. The losses in his division amounted to 112 killed, 400 wounded and 2 missing; total 514. There were, also, 19 casualties in Smith's Division.

The forces opposed to Slocum in this battle, commanded by Gen. Howell Cobb, consisted of three brigades — Mahone's, Semmes's, and Cobb's — two regiments of dismounted cavalry under Munford, and the batteries of Chew, Macon, and Manly. A part of Semmes's Brigade was not engaged. The Confederate losses in this action were not reported in full; but the casualty returns, so far as made, showed a much greater loss than that of the attacking column.

Three days later Slocum arrived on the field at Antietam while the battle was in progress. His division was not actively engaged although it suffered considerable loss. It was held chiefly in reserve near the east woods, with orders to attack on the morning of the nineteenth; but when the time came to reopen the conflict the enemy had fled.

While the army was encamped at Harpers Ferry, after the battle, General Slocum was promoted to the command of the Twelfth Corps, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of General Mansfield, who was killed at Antietam. This assignment was made October 15, 1862, a promotion, like the others bestowed upon him, due solely to the high order of military ability displayed by him in camp and

field on so many occasions. One year before, as already noted, he was unable to command enough political influence to secure a commission as captain of a battery.

The Twelfth was the smallest corps in the army; but among its brigade and regimental commanders were several officers who had been educated at West Point or had served in the Regular Army — Crawford, Greene, Gordon, Geo. L. Andrews, Ruger, Ireland, Ross and others — while its artillery was officered largely by men with the same valuable experience. Gens. Mansfield, Abercrombie, Hartsuff and others had also served previously in the corps, and the men had received the benefit of their services. Although the corps had but two divisions,— and these did not contain the usual number of regiments — it was composed of veteran troops that had achieved honorable distinction on the hard fought fields of Kernstown, Winchester, Cedar Mountain, Manassas and Antietam. Under their new commander it was their destiny to inscribe other historic names upon their flags, to win further renown, and to make a record rivalling that of any corps in the armies of the Nation.

In the spring of 1863 the Twelfth Corps was encamped at Stafford, Va. While here the general wrote a letter to his wife, describing some affairs of social intercourse in the army, and containing, also, a charming allusion to an incident in his early life:

HEADQUARTERS, TWELFTH CORPS D'ARMEE,
April 19, 1863.

My Dear Clara:

I received a beautiful bouquet this morning from Mary. The flowers are all from the President's garden. It is beautiful. The flowers are arranged according to color in three rows — red, white, and blue — with a fine japonica at the apex. I send you two or three samples.

I thought Mary would remember me. I take back all I have said unless she has sent one to all the other generals.

I do not think I was as happy over this bouquet of rare flowers from the wife of the President as I was over a single blue forget-me-not received by me while in Albany from a young country girl.

Yours affectionately,
H. W. SLOCUM.

General Hooker, in planning the Chancellorsville campaign, arranged a strategic movement by which the right wing of his army, composed of three corps, was to flank his antagonist and establish

SUMMIT OF CRAMPTON'S PASS.

itself south of the Rappahannock at Chancellorsville, while the rest of his army engaged Lee's attention in front of Fredericksburg. He intrusted the execution of this important plan to General Slocum, whose known ability was a guarantee that it would be successfully conducted.

Pursuant to this plan of operations Slocum was placed in command of the Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. Breaking camp April twenty-seventh, he moved his three corps rapidly and by a concealed route. Crossing the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford and the Rapidan at Germanna and Ely's Fords, Slocum placed his 42,000 men at Chancellorsville by noon of April thirtieth. Were it not for the personal instructions received from Hooker just before starting he could have carried out the original plan, and, marching on Fredericksburg seized Salem Heights and uncovered Banks's Ford. Had he been permitted to do this there would have been no battle at Chancellorsville. The campaign would have furnished a far different story. But Hooker arrived there that evening and took charge of affairs, whereupon Slocum resumed command of his corps.

On the following day Hooker attempted to move his army out of the Wilderness, and take position in the open country near Fredericksburg. But on encountering the opposition of the Confederate forces under Jackson, Hooker abandoned the plan and withdrew to Chancellorsville. The fruits of Slocum's flank movement were lost.

The history of this great battle has been fully written; it is needless to rehearse the oft told story here. As on other fields Slocum displayed military genius of a high order, and his troops made another record as a steady, hard fighting corps.

An incident at this time came under the writer's observation which was characteristic of the general's methods in handling troops on the field. When Williams's Division was ordered out of its breastworks to the support of General Sickles during the reconnoissance made by the latter on the second day, a regiment of Ruger's Brigade was delayed at the passage of a small stream. Owing to this hindrance it fell considerably behind the rest of the brigade, and its colonel, anxious to close up, gave the order to double-quick. The regiment moved forward at a rapid pace, the accoutrements and cooking utensils carried by the men keeping up a rattling, jingling accompaniment. Suddenly the rapid hoofbeats of a horse under the spur were heard, and the rider wheeled short in front of the column. It was Slocum, and his eyes shone with anger or excite-

ment. "Colonel, halt your regiment!" he shouted. Then, leaning over the side of his saddle he said in low, earnest tones: "Colonel, you must not take your regiment into action on the run. I don't want these men to go into the fight tired and out of breath. Let them walk. There is no need of all this hurry." With a severe look he regarded the breathless soldiers for a moment, wheeled his horse suddenly and was gone. A trifling incident, perhaps; but it illustrates the personal attention which Slocum gave to details when putting his troops in action.

On the march to Gettysburg the Twelfth Corps arrived June twenty-seventh, at Knoxville, Md., within a short march of Williamsport, the place where Lee's army had crossed the Potomac a few days before. On that day General Hooker sent a letter to Slocum with instructions to hold the Twelfth Corps in readiness to march at a moment's notice to Williamsport. Hooker stated further, that the intention was to place the troops at Harpers Ferry, 10,000 or more, under Slocum's command, and throw this force and the Twelfth Corps on General Lee's line of communication; and that, in the meantime, he would concentrate the other corps of his army within supporting distance. Had the request of General Hooker to use the garrison at Harpers Ferry been granted, that force, together with the Twelfth Corps, would on the twenty-eighth of June have been on the line of Lee's communications, with ample time to intrench. Slocum was confident that he could have held that position until Hooker was able to bring up the other corps to his assistance.

But General Halleck refused this very proper request for the use of the idle troops at Harpers Ferry. Hooker, seeing in this senseless denial that he could no longer depend on the support of the commander-in-chief, sent a telegram promptly to Washington asking to be relieved. The movement on Williamsport was abandoned; but in this proposed movement we find further evidence of the confidence in Slocum's ability to exercise a separate and important command.

At Gettysburg, the greatest battle of the war, General Slocum occupied a prominent position by reason of the important duties assigned him by the general commanding. As the senior general in the Army of the Potomac he was in command of the Right Wing.

The Twelfth Corps was encamped on the morning of July first at a point within one mile of Littlestown, on the Hanover road, where it had bivouacked the previous night. It was twelve miles

from that part of the battlefield, west of Gettysburg, on which the fighting of the first day occurred. On that morning the corps, in accordance with instructions from General Meade, moved to Two Taverns to await further instructions there. This place is five miles southeast of Gettysburg. About one o'clock, while the troops were resting in the fields along the highway, a citizen came down the road from Gettysburg and reported that a battle was being fought there. General Slocum immediately sent Major Guindon, of his staff, with an escort of mounted orderlies, to ascertain the truth of the story.

The report of this citizen was the first intimation Slocum received that there was any fighting "at the place called Gettysburg." He had heard no cannonading, for the wind that day was blowing to the north.* The distant sound of artillery was noticed, however, by some who were at the head of the column or in quiet places on high ground; but it attracted little attention from the veterans, who were accustomed to regard such sounds as among the usual preliminaries on a campaign. The citizen's story was confirmed soon after by a dispatch from General Howard. On hearing the important news Slocum promptly issued a command for the corps to push forward without delay, although he had received instructions from General Meade that day to proceed to Two Taverns only, his orders stating further that if the enemy assumed the offensive † he was to withdraw

* The same acoustic phenomenon occurred on the next day when the Sixth Corps traversed this road. Serg. A. T. Brewer, in his oration at the dedication of the Sixty-first Pennsylvania monument, says: "Miles ahead, on the side of the mountain which had long been in sight, shells were seen bursting high in the air, with red, angry flashes. Soon, smoke was observed curling along above the trees and floating away to the north, and yet up to this time not a cannon had been heard. Directly the familiar roar of battle began to be heard indistinctly." (Pennsylvania at Gettysburg, Vol. I, p. 350.)

† Circular.] HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, TANEYTOWN, *July* 1, 1863.

From information received, the commanding general is satisfied that the object of the movement of the army in this direction has been accomplished, viz, the relief of Harrisburg, and the prevention of the enemy's intended invasion of Philadelphia, &c., beyond the Susquehanna. It is no longer his intention to assume the offensive until the enemy's movements or position should render such an operation certain of success.

If the enemy assume the offensive, and attack, it is his intention, after holding them in check sufficiently long, to withdraw the trains and other impedimenta; to withdraw the army from its present position, and form line of battle with the left resting in the neighborhood of Middleburg, and the right at Manchester, the general direction being that of Pipe Creek. For this purpose, General Reynolds, in command of the left, will withdraw the force at present at Gettysburg, two corps by the road to Taneytown and Westminster, and, after crossing Pipe Creek, deploy toward Middleburg. The corps at Emmitsburg will be withdrawn, via Mechanics-

to a specified line of battle on Pipe Creek. But Slocum exercised the discretion allowable in such cases, and, instead of withdrawing, hastened with his corps to Gettysburg.

While on the road to the front, the troops hurrying forward at their utmost speed, Slocum met his staff officer, who was returning. Major Guindon confirmed the citizen's story and informed Slocum that he had met Generals Hancock and Howard, both of whom sent an urgent request that the Twelfth Corps push forward as fast as possible. Before reaching Rock Creek General Slocum sent the following dispatch:

July 1, 1863 — 3:35 P. M.

GENERAL HANCOCK or GENERAL HOWARD:

I am moving the Twelfth Corps so as to come in about one mile to the right of Gettysburg.

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General.

Williams's Division, arriving at Rock Creek, turned off to the right, and moved against Wolf Hill, with the intention of flanking the enemy's left. But on learning that the Union army had retreated to the east side of the town, Slocum ordered Williams back to the Baltimore Pike, and, going to Cemetery Hill himself, assumed command of the field by right of seniority. Geary's Division, arriving previously, while the troops were falling back through the town, was ordered by General Hancock to take a position on Little Round Top.

In one of the earlier histories of this battle a writer says that Slocum was dilatory in coming on the field. The gross misrepresentation of certain facts and evident ignorance of other important

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ville, to Middleburg, or, if a more direct route can be found leaving Taneytown to their left, to withdraw direct to Middleburg.

General Slocum will assume command of the two corps at Hanover and Two Taverns, and withdraw them, via Union Mills, deploying one to the right and one to the left, after crossing Pipe Creek, connecting on the left with General Reynolds, and communicating his right to General Sedgwick at Manchester, who will connect with him and form the right.

The time for falling back can only be developed by circumstances. Whenever such circumstances arise as would seem to indicate the necessity for falling back and assuming this general line indicated, notice of such movement will be at once communicated to these headquarters and to all adjoining corps commanders.

By command of Major-General MEADE:

S. WILLIAMS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

[Official Records, Vol. XXVII, Part III, p. 458.]

ones would require no mention here were it not that this story, at one time, was accepted and repeated to some extent. In his desire to make out a case he says of the short halt of the Twelfth Corps at Two Taverns, "But here the corps remained idle during the whole day." Now Geary's Division, which had the lead that day, arrived at Two Taverns at eleven A. M. General Geary says so in his official report; and, furthermore, that at two P. M., his division "advanced rapidly on the road" to Gettysburg.

This writer says further: "It appears that Slocum did finally move on his own responsibility, but not until the fighting was over." But the main battle of the first day at Gettysburg did not begin until two P. M., at which time, as officially stated by Geary, the Twelfth Corps had left Two Taverns and was marching rapidly to the field.

It is well to remember, also, in connection with this matter that there were two distinct engagements at Gettysburg on that day. The first collision of infantry occurred between two brigades of Wadsworth's Division and two Confederate brigades of Heth's Division, about ten-fifteen A. M., before the Twelfth Corps had reached Two Taverns. Then all was quiet, except some occasional firing of artillery, for three hours. The second, or main battle of the day, commenced at two P. M., or thereabouts. Neither the Eleventh Corps — Howard's — nor Ewell's Confederate Corps arrived on the field until one-thirty P. M., or after; and their arrival should not be timed by the appearance of the leading regiment. The careful student of the movements that day, as told in the official records, will award great credit to General Slocum for the promptness with which he moved the Twelfth Corps to Gettysburg as soon as he heard of the fighting, although he had in his pocket an order from Meade to halt at Two Taverns, await further instructions there, and to fall back to Pipe Creek if the enemy assumed the offensive.

General Meade arrived on the battlefield before daybreak on the morning of July second, the second day of the battle. Addressing himself immediately to the situation he planned an attack, to be made by his right wing against the enemy's left. For this purpose he placed the Fifth and Twelfth Corps under command of General Slocum, with the Sixth Corps as a supporting column. The latter was expected to arrive at Gettysburg in time for this proposed movement. But General Slocum, however much he might have been pleased by such recognition of his military ability, did not allow any

feeling of pride in this flattering selection of himself to interfere with his judgment in the matter. After carefully reconnoitering the position of the enemy in his front and the topographical difficulties presented by the intervening ground, he reported to General Meade that the proposed attack was not practicable. General Warren, chief engineer on Meade's staff, concurred in this opinion. The attack was abandoned, and these troops were saved from what, in all probability, would have been a defeat, with a terrible loss of life. The plan afforded Slocum a tempting opportunity to distinguish himself; but he possessed moral as well as physical courage.

On the afternoon of this day General Sickles, with the Third Corps, held a position on Meade's extreme left. General Longstreet, of the Confederate army, by a well-executed flank movement through the woods tried to repeat the success attained at Chancellorsville by a similar manœuver, and fell upon the Third Corps in overwhelming numbers. Sickles held his ground stoutly for a long time, but was obliged to call for reinforcements to save his imperiled left. Meade hurried his reserves, the Fifth and Sixth Corps, to that portion of the field. In addition he stripped his front in places, and sent these additional brigades there also. He soon had more troops massed on his left than he could put in action; nevertheless, he ordered Slocum to move the Twelfth Corps to the left also.

At this time the Twelfth Corps was lying in its breastworks on Culp's Hill, where it held the right of the Union line. Its artillery had just been engaged in a general, prolonged cannonade with the Confederate batteries on Benner's Hill, the heights on the opposite side of Rock Creek, and the skirmishers of Greene's Brigade at the foot of Culp's Hill were observing the enemy, who was then forming in their front across the creek. The strong Confederate lines which Slocum and Warren had observed that morning in their front were still in position, and an attack was momentarily expected.

When Slocum received the order to abandon Culp's Hill he informed Meade that he had just received word from both Williams and Geary, his division generals, that the enemy was in their front in strong force. He urgently requested that a division be left to guard the line held by the Twelfth Corps, but General Meade would consent to leave but a brigade to defend the position.*

Slocum's insistence that some troops should be left to hold Culp's

* See address of General Slocum at the reunion of Greene's Brigade at Gettysburg, July 3, 1893. [New York at Gettysburg, Vol. I, p. 258. Albany: J. B. Lyon Company. 1900.]

Hill was extremely fortunate. Had he not done so Meade's army would soon have been overwhelmed in an irretrievable disaster. As the Twelfth Corps was filing out of its breastworks to go to the left, three miles away, Johnson's Division of Ewell's Corps was forming in the woods on the opposite side of Rock Creek to assault these same works.

Greene attempted to occupy the vacant position by extending his own line to the right, one man deep, with intervals between, but before he could complete this movement the assaulting columns drove in his skirmishers and swarmed up the hill to the attack. Greene promptly refused his right regiment, while the rest of the brigade from its intrenched position delivered a fire that repulsed the repeated assaults of the Confederate veterans. The remainder of the line of vacated breastworks was occupied by a portion of Johnson's troops without opposition. There was nothing to prevent them from marching straight ahead through the woods to the Baltimore Pike, about four hundred yards distant, where they would have been in the rear of the Union army, menacing its supply trains and reserve artillery, and on its proper line of retreat. A short distance further and they could, without hindrance, have seized Meade's headquarters also. But the attack was not made until sunset, and nightfall soon added to the gloom of the forest that covered the hill from its base to the breastworks along its crest, where the blazing lines of musketry marked the position of the combatants. Johnson was unaware of the opportunity which awaited him; the darkness concealed the advantages before him, and his right brigades had suffered a costly repulse. He decided to wait for daylight before attempting any further advance.

Johnson was heavily reinforced during the night, but when morning came his opportunity was gone. At midnight the Twelfth Corps returned, and, finding their breastworks occupied, went into position covering the line of the Baltimore Pike. Slocum gave orders to attack at daybreak, and in a few hours, after some of the most brilliant fighting in the war, the Twelfth Corps recaptured their works and drove Johnson's forces across Rock Creek. The Union right was secure again.

General Howard, one of the corps commanders at Gettysburg, pays the following tribute to Slocum's generalship on this field:

> The most impressive incident of that great battle to me was General Slocum's own battle. I was awakened from my Cemetery bed the morning of July

3, 1863, at five o'clock, by the startling roar of Slocum's guns. For five anxious hours, with A. S. Williams manœuvering his Twelfth Corps, Slocum, having also some of the Sixth Corps and many batteries, commanded the field. That dreadful struggle to our right went on till Ewell, with Johnson's large division, reenforced with brigades from Rodes's and Early's divisions, was forced to give up and abandon his prize of the night before. That prize was our intrenched line within a stone's throw of the Baltimore Pike, and included the trains for our immediate supply. Slocum's resolute insistence upon leaving General Greene and his brigade, when General Meade directed that the whole Twelfth Corps be sent to his left,— this insistence, followed by Greene's marvelous night battle, and Slocum's organized work and engagement of the ensuing early morning, in my judgment, saved the battle of Gettysburg.*

At the close of the fighting on the second day, General Meade called his corps commanders together for a council of war. The following written questions were submitted to the generals, an answer being expected from each:

1. Under existing circumstances, is it advisable for this army to remain in its present position, or to retire to another nearer its base of supplies?

2. It being determined to remain in present position, shall the army attack or wait the attack of the enemy?

3. If we wait attack, how long?

In accordance with military usage the junior officers were required to express their opinion first. Some of the replies were lengthy and there was considerable discussion. Slocum being the senior corps commander was called upon last. His answer was short and curt: "Stay and fight it out." He regarded the council as wholly unnecessary at that stage of affairs, and believed that the question of retreat, embodied in the first proposition, should never have been raised. On hearing Slocum's answer the council ended quickly, and the generals returned to their quarters. The army stayed and fought it out.

A week later the victorious forces halted in front of Lee's intrenchments at Williamsport where the Confederate chief was waiting for the swollen waters of the Potomac to subside and place his retreating army in safety on the Virginia side. After three days of inaction in the face of the enemy General Meade called another council of war. But the pet phrase of historians — A council of war never fights — received another confirmation. No attack was made, and the Army of Virginia recrossed the river unmolested.

* Address at the memorial service, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, April 29, 1894.

Henry Warner Slocum

The following letter written by General Slocum, is not without interest in this connection:

HEADQUARTERS TWELFTH CORPS,
ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND,
TULLAHOMA, TENN., *January 2d*, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR:

I presume you have read Meade's Report of the battle of Gettysburg. I can imagine the feeling that its perusal has caused you. I have not met a sensible man who has read it, either soldier or civilian, who has not felt disappointed on reading it. It purports to be the official history of the most important contest of modern times — a contest in which our troops fought with a valor and determination never before exhibited — and the only evidence in the entire report which tends to prove this heroism is contained in the closing sentence, "our losses were very severe, amounting to 23,186." Your disappointment must have been greater from the fact that the true history of the operations on the right had already been made known to you by me, and Meade's report is a plain contradiction of almost every statement I have ever written to you. It is in direct conflict with my official report, and the reports of all my subordinate commanders. My first impulse on reading his report was to ask for a court of inquiry. I was prompted to this course not so much from personal consideration, as from a desire to have justice done to General Williams and his division.

Although Meade professed the warmest friendship for me, and the utmost confidence in me, not only during the entire battle, but at all times subsequent to it while I remained in his army, yet in his report he utterly ignores me. That he did repose this confidence in me, and that he placed the right wing entirely under my control, I have abundant written evidence now in my possession. In proof of this I enclose a copy of an order sent me during the battle, showing that he had sent part of Sedgwick's corps to me, and that without visiting me or my portion of the line, he wished me to place it in a central position where he could use it as soon as I could spare it. I also enclose a copy of an order received at ten-twenty A. M., on July second, directing me to move from the strong position we then held, and with the Fifth and Twelfth Corps, then under my command, and the Sixth, which was hourly expected, to attack the enemy. The latter order was not obeyed because every general officer consulted on the subject deemed it unwise to leave the almost impregnable position we then held.

I send you copies of these orders to convince you that although my name is not mentioned in the report, yet I really occupied the position and had the commands mentioned in my former letters. At no time was I in command of less than two corps during the entire campaign, and during all the battle the right wing was entrusted entirely to me — a position to which my rank entitled me. Williams commanded the Twelfth Corps, and was at all times during the

battle treated as a corps commander by Meade. He was invited by him to the council with other corps commanders, and yet no mention is made of this fact in the report. Nor is Williams's name or that of his division to be found in it.

I finally gave up the idea of asking for a court of inquiry, knowing that the interests of the service could not be promoted by such a course. I wrote a letter to Meade, however, asking him to correct his report, a copy of which I enclose.

There is much secret history connected with the Gettysburg campaign which will some day be made public. The proceedings of a secret council of the corps commanders held the night before the enemy crossed the river was at once divulged, and the remarks of Meade, Warren and Pleasanton published to the world in full. It was for the interest of Meade that this publication should be made; and there is no doubt that publicity was given to it with his consent, if not through his direct instrumentality. There were other councils, however, the proceedings of which were not made public and which never will be published with the consent of Meade.

On the evening of July second a council was called, and each corps commander was asked his opinion as to the propriety of falling back towards Washington that night. The majority opposed it, and after the vote was taken Meade declared that "Gettysburg was no place to risk a battle;" and there is no doubt but for the decision of his corps commanders, the army on the third of July would have been in full retreat. The 4th of July, 1863, instead of being a day of rejoicing throughout the North, would have been the darkest day ever known to our country. This piece of history can be verified by the records of that council kept by Butterfield, and cannot have been forgotten by any officer present.

On the fourth of July nearly every corps commander urged an immediate movement, but my corps was kept three days in idleness. In the meantime the enemy reached Hagerstown, took up his new line, and had abundant time to fortify. At the council held on the thirteenth of July, by which "Meade was overruled," the following question was proposed to each officer, viz.: "Shall we, *without further knowledge of the position of the enemy*, make an attack?"

Previous to putting the question, Meade answered that he could get no knowledge of the position of the enemy. This announcement, together with the peculiar phraseology of the question, indicated the decision the commanding general anticipated. He offered no remarks until a vote was taken, and the question answered in the negative. He then made some general remarks about "the necessity of doing something," which was approved by all. Having "placed himself right on record," as the politicians would say, he retired. This record he at once used to sustain himself at the expense of his brother officers, although the action of these officers was precisely what he desired and anticipated it would be when he framed the question.

You may think this a hard charge to bring against a soldier, but I believe

I am fully justified in making it. There are circumstances which I will make known to you when we meet which will convince you that I have not done him injustice.

As long as this war continues I shall pursue the course I have thus far followed. I shall ask for no court, enter into no controversy, write no letters. But when the danger has passed from us many facts will come to light, giving to the public a better knowledge of the real history of this war than can be obtained through the medium of such reports as that written by General Meade.

Very respectfully,

Your Obt. Servant,

H. W. SLOCUM.

Hon. L. H. MORGAN,
Syracuse, N. Y.

Mention is made in this letter of a communication which Slocum addressed to General Meade, asking the latter to correct that portion of his report on the battle of Gettysburg relating to the services of the Twelfth Corps. A copy of this request will be found in the Official Records of the War, Volume XXVII, Part I, page 763. It reads thus:

HDQRS. TWELFTH CORPS, ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND,
TULLAHOMA, TENN., *December* 30, 1863.

Maj.-Gen. GEORGE G. MEADE,
Commanding Army of the Potomac:

GENERAL:

I enclose herewith the report of General T. H. Ruger of operations of the First Division, Twelfth Corps, at the battle of Gettysburg, together with the reports of his brigade and regimental commanders. General Ruger, with a large portion of his division, was ordered to New York city soon after the battle, and immediately after his return from New York the corps was ordered to this department. The reports of General Williams and myself were delayed with the hope of receiving General Ruger's report in time to forward it with them.

I deeply regret the necessity which compelled me to send my report and that of General Williams unaccompanied by any report of the operations of the First Division, for although an account of the operations of this division was given in the report of General Williams, who commanded the corps during the battle, I think the absence of Ruger's report may account for some of the errors contained in your report as to the operations of the Twelfth Corps.

I enclose a letter from General Williams, calling my attention to these errors, to which I respectfully invite your attention, and if anything can be done at this late day to correct these errors I trust you will do it. Your report

is the official history of that important battle, and to this report reference will always be made by our Government, our people, and the historian, as the most reliable and accurate account of the service performed by each corps, division, and brigade of your army. If you have inadvertently given to one division the credit of having performed some meritorious service which was in reality performed by another division, you do an injustice to brave men and defraud them of well-earned laurels. It is an injustice which even time cannot correct. That errors of this nature exist in your official report is an indisputable fact.

You give great credit to Lockwood's brigade for services on the evening of July second, but state that this brigade was a portion of the First Corps, while it never at any time belonged to that corps, but was a portion of the Twelfth Corps, and was accompanied in its operations on the evening of July second by General Williams in person. A portion of this brigade (the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York) is still in General Williams's division.

I copy the following statement from your report:

"During the heavy assault on our left portions of the Twelfth Corps were sent as re-enforcements. During their absence the line on the extreme right was held by a very much reduced force. This was taken advantage of by the enemy, who, during the absence of General Geary's division of the Twelfth Corps, advanced and occupied part of the line. On the morning of the third, General Geary, having returned during the night, attacked at early dawn the enemy, and succeeded in driving him back and reoccupying his former position. A spirited contest was maintained all the morning along this part of the line. General Geary, re-enforced by Wheaton's brigade of the Sixth Corps, maintained his position, and inflicted severe losses on the enemy."

From this statement it would appear that Geary's division marched to the support of your left; that Williams's division did not; that his (Williams's) division, or a portion of it, was guarding the intrenchments when the enemy gained possession; that General Geary returned, and with his division drove the enemy back; that the engagement on the following morning was fought by Geary's division assisted by Wheaton's brigade. This I know is the inference drawn from your history of those operations by every person unacquainted with the truth. Yet the facts in the case are very nearly the reverse of the above in every particular, and directly in contradiction to the facts as set forth in the report of General Geary, as well as that of General Williams. Geary's division did not march even in the direction of your left. Two of his brigades, under his immediate command, left the intrenchments under orders to move to the support of your left, but through some unfortunate mistake he took the road leading to Two Taverns. Williams's entire division did move to the support of your left, and it was one of his brigades (Lockwood's), under his immediate command, which you commend, but very singularly accredit to the First Corps.

Greene's brigade, of the Second Division, remained in the intrenchments, and the failure of the enemy to gain entire possession of our works was duc entirely to the skill of General Greene, and the heroic valor of his troops. His brigade suffered severely, but maintained its position, and held the enemy in check until the return of Williams's division. The "spirited contest maintained by General Geary, re-enforced by Wheaton's brigade," was a contest for regaining the portion of our intrenchments held by the enemy, and was conducted under the immediate command of General Williams, and was participated in by the entire Twelfth Corps, re-enforced not by Wheaton's but by Shaler's brigade.

Although the command of the Twelfth Corps was given temporarily to General Williams by your order, and although you directed him to meet at the council with other corps commanders, you fail to mention his name in your entire report, and in no place allude to his having any such command, or to the fact that more than one corps was at any time placed under my command, although at no time after you assumed command of the army until the close of this battle was I in command of less than two corps. I have now in my possession your written orders, dated July second, directing me to assume command of the Sixth Corps, and, with that corps and the two then under my command (the Fifth and Twelfth), to move forward and at once attack the enemy.

I allude to this fact for the purpose of refreshing your memory on a subject which you had apparently entirely forgotten when you penned your report; for you have not failed to notice the fact of General Schurz and others having held, even for a few hours, commands above that previously held by them. I sincerely trust that you will endeavor to correct as far as possible the errors above mentioned, and that the correction may be recorded at the War Department.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General of Volunteers, Commanding.

In compliance with this request General Meade sent a communication to the War Department, February 25, 1864, making the necessary corrections and additions to his report. In a letter to Slocum, same date, Meade takes exception to some of the former's strictures, but, nevertheless, he made each alteration and correction, and amended his report on file in every particular as requested.

The Gettysburg campaign having ended, the Army of the Potomac returned to Virginia and slowly followed the Confederate columns to the Rappahannock, where both armies confronted each other for several weeks from either bank of the river. While here General Meade was called to Washington, August thirteenth, and was absent from the front for a few days. During this time, at the

request of the general commanding, Slocum occupied Meade's headquarters, where by virtue of his seniority in rank he was temporarily in command of the army, although nothing occurred that required him to exercise the duties of that position.

Mention has been made of the rigid discipline maintained by Slocum in whatever body of troops was placed under him, whether regiment, brigade, division or corps. Yet, withal, he had a kindly nature which often tempered the severity of his judgment. While the Twelfth Corps was encamped along the Rappahannock in 1863, a young field officer who had received a furlough when wounded returned to the front. In accordance with the army regulations he reported at corps headquarters immediately on his arrival, and handing his papers to Colonel Rodgers, the adjutant-general, acknowledged that he had overstayed his leave of absence. Rodgers looked grave, shook his head doubtfully, and said it was a matter for the General. Slocum entering the room just then, his attention was called to it. After talking in low tones with Rodgers he turned to the delinquent and asked him what excuse he had for such a breach of discipline. The young fellow knew enough to look the general squarely in the face and say, "I have no excuse; I was having a good time in Washington, and hated to leave." Slocum tried to frown, but as he looked at the youthful culprit, who in appearance was hardly more than a smooth-faced slender boy, the general's face relaxed, and with something very like a smile he said to Rodgers, "Colonel, we can't afford to be too hard on these boys." Then turning to the young officer, who was uneasily fingering the gilt acorn on his hat cord, he said, "I am afraid you are a bad lot, but I will excuse you this time. Report to your regiment!" adding in a sharper tone as the lad was hurrying to the door, "Major, you understand, this mustn't happen again." "O certainly not, certainly not," was the fervent reply. That fellow went to his quarters walking on air, so happy was he. Then, opening his haversack, he took out a flask of choice commissary he had brought from Washington, and hastened away to propitiate his colonel.

Although General Slocum was always approachable and affable in his intercourse with subordinates he would not brook any undue familiarity on their part. He invariably maintained the dignified reserve which, in his opinion, befitted the position held by him as commander of a corps, and, as in the latter part of the war, a sepa-

rate army. Chaplain Jordan, in his history of the Tenth Maine, tells this story:

> About the middle of September the battalion broke camp and moved to the Rapidan River, near Raccoon Ford. While on this march an incident occurred which afforded much merriment for the officers and men attached to headquarters. General Slocum and staff had halted at a certain spot for lunch, when Lieut. ———, of the ———th U. S. Artillery, slightly intoxicated, rode up to Gen. Slocum, dismounted, threw his arms about the general's neck and exclaimed, "O! Sloky! You're a hunky boy!" Such a breach of military discipline might not have been very remarkable in some of the armies, but was an almost unheard of affair in the Army of the Potomac. It is needless to say that it was promptly punished by keeping the offending officer in arrest until he amply apologized. The Lieutenant furnished the battalion with a phrase which the men delighted to repeat, not so much for the fun of the thing as for the completeness with which it expressed their feelings towards the general.*

One of the most important events affecting General Slocum's military career occurred while the army was encamped along the Upper Rappahannock, in the fall of 1863. Owing to the prolonged inactivity and superior strength of the Army of the Potomac at this time the War Department ordered two corps sent to the assistance of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. The Eleventh and Twelfth were designated for that purpose. General Hooker was placed in command of the two corps.

But in this arrangement the feelings of the two corps commanders had not been taken into consideration. Slocum promptly refused to serve under Hooker, and in a letter to President Lincoln, September 25, 1863, he tendered his resignation. Mr. Lincoln realized that the country could not afford to lose the services of men like Slocum at this time, and refused to accept it. A satisfactory arrangement was made, however, under which it was agreed that if the general would accompany his corps to Tennessee he would not be required to serve under Hooker, and that he would be assigned to some other equally important command at the first opportunity.

[* History of the Tenth Maine Battalion. By Rev. Leonard G. Jordan. Portland: Stephen Berry. 1871.]

During the long journey to the Southwest Slocum gave personal attention to the comfort of his troops, doing everything in his power to secure comfortable accommodations and lessen the fatigue. When the soldiers left the cars to cross the Ohio River the general was greeted by the Twenty-seventh Indiana with a round of cheers. In response he complimented the regiment on its orderly behavior, and said, "How are the Twenty-seventh boys standing the trip?" Among the many replies an unabashed Hoosier shouted, "We would feel better about passing through Indiana if we had some money." "Haven't you been paid off?" the general enquired with evident surprise and interest. "No, no!" the men replied. "Well, now," he continued, "I will see to that." He did so. That evening the train carrying the Twenty-seventh was standing on a siding to allow an express to go by. As the express dashed past a letter was thrown off addressed to Colonel Colgrove informing him that a paymaster was aboard who would pay the regiment at Zanesville. Arriving there the men found him waiting for the regiment, and all through the night, by the dim light of the soldiers' candles, the paymaster went from car to car until the last Indianian had received his little sheaf of greenbacks. The general was thoughtful enough, also, to arrange the movement of his troops so that the Twenty-seventh could remain a day at Indianapolis, in order to meet the relatives and friends who had been notified by personal telegrams from the soldiers that they were coming.

General Slocum was always in sympathy with the private soldier; his experience in civil life had brought him in touch with the plain people and their ideas. No general of high rank understood better than he the character of the American soldier, his ideas and peculiarities. For this reason a man in private's uniform could always approach him, if done in a proper manner.

On this same trip through the West a young soldier of the Twenty-seventh Indiana, who chanced to see the general at a time when he seemed to be at leisure, saluted him and respectfully asked a hearing. The soldier stated that the train would soon pass through the town where his father resided; that he had not been home nor absent from his regiment a single day since he enlisted, two years or more before. He asked the general for permission to stop and see his people for one day. Slocum's sympathy was awakened, and

he replied, in substance: "Soldier, I am very sorry, but I cannot give anyone a furlough at a time like this. Still, if I had served in your regiment over two years without being home once, or absent from duty a single day, and was passing through my own home town, I would certainly stop for just a little while on my own responsibility. And, I will say this much, if you conclude to do so, and should get into trouble over it, I will do all I can to help you out."* No wonder the veterans in his corps regarded their general with affection as well as pride. Slocum, in all essentials was the strictest of the strict; in non-essentials he was ever willing to exercise whatever latitude the circumstances would permit.

On arriving in Tennessee, General Hooker, with the Eleventh Corps, proceeded to the front, at Chattanooga, where he was joined, a few weeks later, by Geary's Division of the Twelfth Corps. To Williams's Division of the Twelfth Corps was assigned the duty of protecting the railway communication between Nashville and Stevenson. The regiments belonging to this command were encamped at various points along the railroad for a period of over six months, and so were not engaged in the fighting done by Hooker's command at the battles near Chattanooga.

In accordance with the arrangement granted him by the War Department before leaving Virginia, General Slocum made his headquarters at Tullahoma, Tenn., where General Williams was stationed. Although still in command of his corps and present with a portion of it, the circumstances did not require him to take orders from General Hooker.

But in April, 1864, the situation was simplified by the consolidation of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, forming a new corps, designated the Twentieth, which was placed under General Hooker. General Slocum was assigned to the command of the District of Vicksburg. On April 9, 1864, he issued a general order containing a farewell to his old corps, and then, taking his staff with him, established his headquarters at Vicksburg, Miss.

The position thus assigned to General Slocum was befitting his rank and record. As a military command it was an important one, for it embraced bodies of troops outnumbering those of an ordinary army corps. Furthermore, as it included a territory wrested from the

* History of the Twenty-seventh Indiana Volunteers. By E. R. Brown.

enemy, it imposed duties of a grave responsibility in the management of a disaffected people and the adjustment of the various civil questions incident to such a condition. The Government had selected him for this trying position, relying on his superior judgment and administrative ability, which, as well as his brilliant record in the field, had won for him the confidence of the War Department.

But, in the exercise of his authority, Slocum had to contend with complications and annoyances that were extremely distasteful to him as a soldier. There were other generals at this time on the Mississippi who held territorial commands, and Slocum was annoyed repeatedly by orders from these officers, all of them juniors in rank, instructing him to detach large bodies of troops for purposes regarding which he had little or no knowledge. But he stood stoutly on his rights and refused these requests, especially as they would have crippled his own command and prevented him from sending the expeditions into the enemy's country which he had been commanded to make.

General Sherman, also, misled by false information, wrote Slocum in regard to a certain matter, notifying him that if it was not attended to "you need not expect military favors from General Grant or myself." But Slocum was the last man to shape his line of action by expected favors, and in his answer to Sherman said: "Without any particular desire to secure favors from yourself or any other person, I shall continue faithful in the discharge of my duty, which, I think, you readily perceive a very disagreeable and difficult one when you compare the different orders issued to me by General Canby with those issued by yourself." Sherman, finding that his source of information, "the Atlanta paper of the 25th" was not to be relied on, wrote Slocum an explanatory and somewhat apologetic letter which closed the incident.

In accordance with instructions Slocum organized expeditions into the interior, where, by the activity of his troops he prevented the Confederates from sending reinforcements to Lee or Johnston. Taking with him 2,800 infantry and cavalry, and six pieces of artillery, belonging to the Seventeenth Corps, he left Vicksburg, July second, for the purpose of destroying the bridge over Pearl river. After accomplishing this he encountered a strong force of the enemy under command of Lieut. Gen. S. D. Lee, posted on the Clinton road, three miles from Jackson, the State capital. Slo-

cum attacked early on the morning of the seventh, and after an engagement of two hours' duration forced his opponents back, and moved on to Clinton. He did not attempt a pursuit as his command had about exhausted the supplies with which it started. In this affair Slocum lost 33 killed, 156 wounded, and 31 missing; total 220. General Lee claims a victory in his report, but makes no mention of his casualties aside from the wounding of General Gholson.

Another and successful expedition was made from Vicksburg, July 10–17, 1864, by General Slocum, during which his forces advanced to Port Gibson and Grand Gulf. Some brisk fighting occurred at each place in which the enemy was driven from its position with considerable loss. The object of the movement having been accomplished, the troops returned to Vicksburg. Other expeditions of a similar character, but unimportant as events, were successfully undertaken, Slocum's activity in these matters keeping a large force of Confederates in Mississippi that otherwise might have been employed against Sherman or Grant.

The persistent efforts of the Confederates, aided by sympathizing residents, to get supplies for their army through the lines at Vicksburg, necessitated a vigilant management on the part of the commandant of that district. Strict measures had to be inaugurated, also, to protect the large number of freedmen within the lines, to regulate the cotton trade, to suppress the efforts of corrupt officials, and to protect the many interests of the Government that were continually involved in the administration of affairs on the Mississippi.

Some of Slocum's orders in connection with these matters are of historical value as indicating the condition of affairs at Vicksburg at this time:

Henry Warner Slocum

HDQRS. DISTRICT OF VICKSBURG,
VICKSBURG, MISS., *May* 5, 1864.

GENERAL ORDERS,
No. 4.

I. No persons except those in the employ of the United States Government, and loyal citizens, or those who have taken the oath of allegiance, will hereafter be permitted to pass the picket-lines at any post within this district.

II. No goods or merchandise of any kind will hereafter be allowed to pass outside the lines, except the necessary supplies for planters working land leased from the United States, and limited quantities to citizens who have taken the oath of allegiance. No citizen will be allowed to take out supplies for any persons except himself and his immediate family, and in no case will more than thirty days' supplies be taken out.

III. The provost-marshal at every post will keep an accurate record of every pass granted, and of all permits approved by himself, or the post commander. Books for this purpose will be supplied by the quartermaster's department and the records will be kept open for the inspection of any officer of the Government, at all hours between eight A. M. and six P. M. A record will be kept by the officers of the picket-line of all passes and permits presented, which record will be compared with that of the provost-marshal, and any discrepancy will at once be reported.

IV. All trade stores within the district at points not garrisoned by at least one regiment of troops will at once be discontinued. No goods or merchandise will be landed at any point on the river within the limits of the district which is not garrisoned by troops, except necessary supplies for planters working land leased from the Government, in which case the goods may be landed under cover of a gun-boat at the nearest practicable point to the plantation.

V. All boats ladened with merchandise detected in landing in violation of this order will be seized and brought to this post.

VI. All persons charged with the duties of imposing taxes upon citizens, or of seizing property for the Government, will keep an account of all such transactions, specifying the persons from whom the money or property was received and the disposition made of it. This account will be kept open for the inspection of any officer of the Government, or of any citizen who has been taxed, or from whom property has been taken.

VII. No Government wagon, transport, or vessel of any kind will be used in bringing cotton or other stores to market, except in cases where such stores have been seized for the Government.

VIII. All clerks and citizen employes in every department whose services are not absolutely necessary will at once be discharged.

IX. No rations will be issued, nor property of any kind transferred to citizens to reimburse them for losses sustained by the operations of the war. The

persons to whom damages are to be paid, and the amounts due, are questions which no military officer is authorized to adjust.

X. It is the duty of every person in the employ of the Government and of every loyal citizen to aid in the correction of all evils. Any practice on the part of either civil or military officers or citizens which tends to aid the enemy or defraud or injure the Government should be promptly reported, and sustained by such proof as will enable the commanding general to correct the evil, and bring the guilty parties to punishment.

By command of Maj. Gen. H. W. Slocum:

H. C. RODGERS,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

HDQRS. DISTRICT OF VICKSBURG,
VICKSBURG, MISS., *May* 12, 1864.

GENERAL ORDERS,
No. 6.

I. The United States Government having adopted the policy of leasing abandoned plantations and giving employment to freedmen, it is the duty of the military authorities to give protection as far as possible to the lessee and laborer. This protection can only be given by holding responsible the districts in which the bands of guerrillas, who are constantly committing depredations upon them, are organized and encouraged.

II. It is therefore ordered that hereafter in every instance where a Government lessee is robbed of his property, the commanding officer of the nearest military post shall send a sufficient force to the locality, with instructions to seize from disloyal citizens property sufficient to fully indemnify the lessee, which property will be sold at public auction and the proceeds paid to the injured person. If the crops of the lessee are destroyed, or in any manner injured, crops of the same kind will be seized from disloyal citizens and harvested for the benefit of the injured party. If any lessee is killed by guerrillas, an assessment of $10,000 will at once be levied upon the disloyal people residing within thirty miles of the place where the offense was committed. Property of any kind will be seized and sold for this purpose. The amount so assessed will be appropriated for the benefit of the family of the lessee. Full reports of all seizures and sales of property under this order will in all cases be forwarded direct to these headquarters.

III. In deciding upon the class of persons who are to be assessed it should not be forgotten that the oath of allegiance is not an infallible test of loyalty. If a citizen has relatives and friends among these, if he harbors or protects them, or if having the means of doing so he fails to inform the lessee of their approach,

he must be held accountable. Men must be judged by their acts and not by the oaths they have taken.

By command of Maj. Gen. H. W. Slocum:

H. C. RODGERS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

HDQRS. DISTRICT OF VICKSBURG,
VICKSBURG, MISS., *May* 18, 1864.

GENERAL ORDERS,
No. 7.

The attention of the officers of this command is called to the importance of maintaining discipline and preventing all marauding and pillaging on the part of the soldiers, while every effort should be made to punish citizens who aid the enemy, or who in any manner violate military law or orders. The punishment in every case should be inflicted by the proper authority, and in a proper and lawful manner. Every act of pillage and every unjustifiable encroachment upon the right of citizens serve only to bring disgrace upon our armies and encourage a spirit which should be unknown among brave men engaged in a noble cause.

The recent murder of a citizen by colored soldiers in open day in the streets of this city should arouse the attention of every officer serving with these troops to the absolute necessity of preventing their soldiers from attempting a redress of their own grievances. If the spirit which led to this act of violence is not at once repressed, consequences of the most terrible nature must follow. The responsibility resting upon officers in immediate command of colored troops cannot be overestimated. The policy of arming colored men, although at first strongly opposed, has finally been very generally approved by loyal men throughout the country. If this experiment is successful, if these troops prove powerful and efficient in enforcing obedience to law, all good officers connected with the organization will receive the credit which will be due them as pioneers in the great work. But if in teaching the colored man that he is free, and that, in becoming a soldier, he has become the equal of his former master, we forget to teach him the first duty of the soldier, that of obedience to law, and to the orders of those appointed over him; if we encourage him in rushing for his arms and coolly murdering citizens for every fancied insult, nothing but disgrace and dishonor can befall all connected with the organization.

Every wrong done to the colored soldiers can and shall be punished, but he must not be permitted to take the law into his own hands, and hereafter the officers of any regiment guilty of such crimes as that which has to-day brought disgrace upon the colored troops, will be held to a strict accountability.

By command of Maj. Gen. H. W Slocum:

H. C. RODGERS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

But Slocum was needed at the front again. Having been appointed to the command of the Twentieth Corps, then on the Atlanta campaign, he relinquished his duties at Vicksburg August 14, 1864, and after waiting a few days to close his business there hastened to join Sherman's army.

The Twentieth Corps was engaged at this time in the siege of Atlanta. Just before Slocum's arrival the corps had been sent to guard the line of the Chattahoochee River, while the main army, abandoning its trenches, moved against the railroad communications of the enemy on the south side of the city. Slocum arrived at the camps of the Twentieth Corps, August twenty-seventh, his appearance being greeted with enthusiastic cheers. The Gettysburg and Chancellorsville veterans were especially prominent in this demonstration, as they rejoiced greatly at the prospect of serving under their old commander again.

Sherman's movement to the south of Atlanta had the intended effect. General Hood was forced to come out and fight in order to protect his line of supplies, and encountering defeat he was compelled to order the evacuation of the city. Before abandoning Atlanta the Confederates destroyed seventy carloads of ammunition and burned a large amount of material on the night of September first. The continuous and heavy explosions aroused the camps of the Twentieth Corps, some six miles distant. As the men listened to the uproar, plainly heard in the stillness of the night, they argued that Sherman had returned and was attempting an assault. But when Slocum saw the red glare of the sky he knew that the enemy was evacuating the city, and immediately ordered forward a strong detachment from each of his three divisions. Starting before daylight these troops entered the outer works in a few hours, where they were met by the civil authorities who made a formal surrender of the city. Sherman, who was at Jonesboro, some thirty miles away, soon received a despatch from Slocum announcing the fall of Atlanta and its occupation by his corps.

The Twentieth Corps remained in the city, and the rest of the army, on its return, encamped at various points in that vicinity. Sherman's confidence in Slocum's administrative ability was such that he left him, with the Twentieth Corps, to hold Atlanta and manage its affairs while he (Sherman) moved northward in pursuit of Hood. Slocum remained in the city over two months, his time

being occupied with provost duties and in organizing expeditions into the country for gathering food and supplies for his command.

The pursuit of the elusive Hood proved fruitless. Sherman returned to Atlanta with part of his forces, having left the rest under General Thomas, with instructions to follow the Confederate army and destroy it. On the return to Atlanta preparations were made for the movement through Georgia to Savannah. For this purpose the army was divided into two separate commands, designated respectively as the Right and Left Wing. The former, composed of the Army of the Tennessee, was placed under General Howard; the latter, made up of two corps from the army of the Cumberland — Fourteenth and Twentieth — was assigned to General Slocum.

The March to the Sea began November fifteenth. One week before, General Slocum wrote a letter to his family describing some of the scenes of preparation:

ATLANTA, GA., *Nov. 7th*, 1864.

The last train for the North leaves here to-morrow morning. Our soldiers are scattered along the railroad a hundred miles north, and as soon as that train passes the work of destruction will commence. The railroad will be completely destroyed and every bridge burned. Then both armies (the Armies of the Tennessee and the Cumberland) will assemble here, and after destroying this city will commence the march. I fear their track will be one of desolation.

I have been to the R. R. depot for the past three days several times, and have witnessed many sad and some ludicrous scenes. All citizens (white and black) begin to apprehend that something is about to happen. The whites are alarmed, and many are leaving the city, giving up houses, lands, furniture, negroes, and all. The blacks want to go North, and the Car House is surrounded by them. Hundreds of cars are literally *packed* with them and their dirty bundles, inside and out. Old toothless hags, little pickaninnies, fat wenches of all shades, from light brown to jet black, are piled up together with their old bags, bundles, broken chairs, etc. Some are gnawing old bones, some squatted by the cars making hoe-cakes, some crying for food. Many of the whites are as anxious to get North as the darkies, and gladly accept a place in a car reeking with the odor peculiar to "the American of African descent." It is a sad sight, but I anticipate seeing many such before spring.

I wish for humanity's sake that this sad war could be brought to a close. While laboring to make it successful, I shall do all in my power to mitigate its horrors.

General Slocum held now the highest command in his military career, that of a separate army. The able manner in which he conducted his forces while on the March to the Sea justified his selection for this responsible position.

Though his column did not encounter the enemy in strong force, and his troops did comparatively little fighting, he demonstrated that he was a master of the art of military logistics. Despite all difficulties, the various divisions of his army never failed to reach their appointed destination within the allotted time. When the hour came, whether noon or night, every wagon of his trains was in its park, every regiment of his command at its place of bivouac. In military science there are many branches besides fighting; and Slocum's wide experience embraced them all.

When Sherman's forces reached Savannah, an investment of the city and a siege became necessary. General Hardee occupied the place with 15,000 Confederate troops, under able, experienced commanders. The strong line of works, combined with certain natural advantages, indicated a prolonged defense. But the investment was not complete. Hardee had one avenue of escape, across the Savannah river to the North. As the left of Slocum's army rested on the river, he made a demonstration against this one line by which the enemy might retreat, and had he secured the desired permission would have placed a strong body of troops across it. But Sherman had a different arrangement in mind, and went to Beaufort to secure the co-operation of some troops for this purpose. During his absence, Hardee, alarmed by the threatening movement of one of Slocum's brigades towards his rear, evacuated the city, and withdrew his forces in safety. Crossing the river, he reached a causeway through a swamp, his one and only way of escape. Had Slocum's suggestion been adopted, the entire garrison would have been compelled to surrender within a short time. Upon the evacuation a division of the Twentieth Corps was the first to enter the city, and to these troops was accorded the privilege of remaining there on provost duty while the army lay outside the town.

In January, 1865, Sherman's two armies started northward on the campaign of the Carolinas, with the ultimate intention of joining the Army of the Potomac, at Petersburg, or co-operating with it. This campaign was the most remarkable one in the history of the war for its duration, the number of miles marched, and the hardships

encountered by the soldiers. It was undertaken at the most inclement season of the year in that climate.

The route was crossed at frequent intervals by rivers that, owing to the frequent rains, had overflowed their banks and filled the great swamps on either side. Though the pontoon trains were sufficient for bridging any stream on the line of march, they were useless in the wide areas of flooded lowlands. The soldiers were obliged to wade repeatedly through long stretches of deep and chilling water, often exposed to the fire of the enemy. The Confederates availed themselves of every opportunity to contest the passage of these streams. In addition, there was the toilsome work of destroying the railroads along the route, and the still more arduous labor of assisting the wagon trains and artillery through the swamps.

In passing through North Carolina, Slocum, still in command of the Left Wing, encountered Hardee's forces near Averasborough. An engagement, one of the minor battles of the war, ensued, in which Slocum defeated Hardee handsomely and drove him from the field. Three days later, Gen. Jos. E. Johnston, having united his scattered forces, attacked Slocum at Bentonville. The Confederate leader, having over 20,000 veterans under his command, hoped that by a sudden dash upon the Left Wing he could defeat that army before it could receive assistance from the Right Wing, then many miles distant. But Slocum, wary and cautious, quickly divined the intention of his antagonist. Recalling his advance and bringing forward his divisions from the rear, he threw his forces into position quickly and repulsed Johnston's fierce onslaught. When night came he was still in possession of the field. The next day he was reinforced by troops sent to his support by General Howard. There was some desultory fighting, and then Johnston retreated to Raleigh. Another victory was added to Slocum's record.

The careful, methodical action which always characterized Slocum's movements when about to encounter the enemy in force was well displayed at Bentonville. When the general found that a battle was imminent he halted until he could bring up all his available forces, and in the meantime ascertain the position of the enemy. General Kilpatrick, who was in command of the cavalry, urged Slocum strongly to make a bold dash and clear the Confederates out of the way as he (Slocum) had done at Averasborough. Had he done so he would have invited a serious disaster. But rejecting

the advice thus offered he said, significantly, "General Kilpatrick, I don't propose to advance farther until I know just what is on my flanks." The doughty cavalryman looked thoughtful for a moment, and then hurried away to obtain this highly important information.

Hon. J. B. Foraker, United States Senator from Ohio, who was a member of Slocum's staff on this campaign, says that Major Mosely, also of the staff, suggested to Slocum that he should order the advance division to charge the enemy and clear the road; that there could not possibly be a very strong force in front; that if the general waited for his other forces to come up a whole day would be lost; and that if it should turn out that there was nothing in front to justify such caution it would injure the prestige of the Left Wing. Slocum replied, earnestly, "I can afford to be charged with being dilatory or overcautious, but I cannot afford the responsibility of another Ball's Bluff affair.*

To Slocum's credit, it should be said that he did what he could to maintain a proper state of discipline in his own command. Major William G. Tracy, of Slocum's staff, states that "During this march he (Slocum), so far as was in his power, endeavored to restrain unnecessary pillage and injury to the inhabitants of the country, but never received the credit due him for such efforts, for he had but scant sympathy in that regard from his superior officer." †

The Carolina campaign ended practically with the occupation of Goldsborough. Here the designation of the Left Wing was changed to that of the Army of Georgia, although no change was made in its composition. General Slocum, retaining his command, served with the Army of Georgia in the pursuit and at the surrender of Johnston, and rode at the head of this army in the final Grand Review in Washington at the close of the war.

The time having arrived for disbanding the army and mustering out the regiments, General Slocum issued a farewell address to his soldiers:

* Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Vol. IV, p. 693. New York: The Century Co. 1888.
† Address at Slocum memorial service, All Souls' Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., May 4, 1894.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF GEORGIA,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 6th*, 1865.

GENERAL ORDERS,
No. 15.

With the separation of the troops composing this Army in compliance with recent orders, the organization known as "the Army of Georgia" will virtually cease to exist. Many of you will at once return to your homes. No one now serving as a volunteer will probably be retained in service against his will but a short time longer. All will soon be permitted to return and receive the rewards due them as the gallant defenders of their country.

While I cannot repress a feeling of sadness at parting with you, I congratulate you upon the grand results achieved by your valor, fidelity and patriotism.

No generation has ever done more for the permanent establishment of a just and liberal form of Government — more for the honor of their Nation — than has been done during the past four years by the Armies of the United States, and the patriotic people at home, who have poured out their wealth in support of these armies with a liberality never before witnessed in any country.

Do not forget the parting advice of that great Chieftain who led you through your recent brilliant campaign, "As in war you have been good soldiers, so in peace be good citizens."

Should you ever desire to resume the honorable profession you are now about to leave, do not forget that this profession is honorable only when followed in obedience to the orders of the constituted authority of your Government.

With feelings of deep gratitude to each and all of you for your uniform soldierly conduct,— for the patience and fortitude with which you have borne all the hardships it has been necessary to impose upon you,— and for the unflinching resolution with which you have sustained the holy cause in which we have been engaged, I bid you farewell.

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General Comd'g.

After a brief leave of absence he returned to Vicksburg where he assumed command of the military department of the Mississippi. Here he exercised his administrative ability in alleviating so far as possible the unhappy conditions incidental to a long and terrible war, the effects of which had been especially disastrous to the people in that district. Under his able guidance a peaceful condition of affairs was soon restored and business was resumed in all its various branches.

But the position and its duties were in too strong a contrast with his four years of active life in the field. The general found the routine

at Vicksburg irksome and burdensome in the extreme. He had an intense longing for home and the attractions of civil life. He had defended his country well in its time of trial, and now that there was no further need of his services he felt at liberty to resign his commission.

At this time the politicians of his State, eagerly seeking for a candidate whose brilliant record and popularity would render him available for party success, were giving his name favorable consideration. Prior to the war, Slocum had been a Republican and had held important offices under that party. But during the war he had always refrained from any expression of opinion whatever on political matters. Although loyal to the Administration he had never by word or deed allowed any intimation of his views on the management of affairs to escape him. Hence a nomination on the State ticket was tendered him by each party. He received two letters in Vicksburg that are of particular interest in connection with this matter:

SYRACUSE, N. Y., *August* 11, 1865.

DEAR GENERAL:

We of the State of New York, of the chosen of the Lord, who are desirous of sustaining the administration of President Johnson, etc., are looking around for candidates for state offices this fall.

And now to the point. I have no doubt a *nearly*, if not entirely, unanimous nomination for the office of Secretary of State (the head of the ticket) can be secured you. I now think the nomination can be secured by acclamation; but certainly it can be secured so as to be, or appear to be, entirely unsought after by you,—if you desire it. I came from Saratoga yesterday, where together with Belden I talked with several of our friends. To-day, Watson, of Cayuga county, has been here. He is present at this writing and would be most happy to honor you. Therefore you see my judgment is not mere speculation. I believe, also, that you know enough of me to have a fair opinion of my discernment in political matters.

The question now is, What do you desire in the matter? Please write me fully, that your friends may act advisedly. I hardly know whether to advise you or not, but it must be obvious to you that for your own good, if you intend to come back to this State, the sooner you mix in State politics the better, and there can hardly be a better or more propitious way of entering than as a military "Hero," and before all the military heroes have retired to civil life, and have become your rivals for civic honors.

Most truly, your friend,

FRANK HISCOCK.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., *August* 22, 1865.

Strictly confidential.

MY DEAR SIR:

The political campaign is about opening, and from present appearances promises many curious combinations. I have just returned from a meeting of our Democratic State Committee at Albany, which called a State Convention for the nomination of State officers to meet on September sixth.

Now to the point. I am authorized by our leading politicians to offer you the place of Secretary of State on our ticket; or if the duties of this are too active for you, to ask you to accept that of Treasurer, where the duties are less active and require but little of your time. We would, however, prefer you to head the ticket.

Mr. Robinson, the present Comptroller, elected by the Republicans two years ago, desires a renomination from us, and he will in all probability get it. Martin Grover, elected by the Republicans to the Supreme Court bench, will be one of our nominees for the Court of Appeals. I mention these facts in order that you may get some idea of the drift affairs are taking.

There is not much doubt in the minds of good politicians but that we shall carry the State this fall. We intend to endorse President Johnson's administration with regard to his treatment of the Southern States, and while we shall endorse it quite generally, we shall avoid finding fault with it upon any question — believing that in a very short time the President's policy will conform to what is desired by the Democratic party. I am also warranted in saying that if you accept our nomination for Secretary of State, the pleasantest office on the ticket, and should be elected, you can have the nomination for Governor next year. The present would be but a stepping stone to the other. Understand me, this offer is not made by any particular interest or clique in the party, but would be given to you *unanimously* in the Convention. Dean Richmond knows of my writing this, and I shall expect — with your permission — to show him your reply. You will notice that I have written you very frankly; my acquaintance with you warrants me in doing so.

Regarding you more of a soldier than politician, you will pardon me when I express my belief that everything now indicates the speedy dissolution of the Republican party and the return of the Democracy to power — a result which just laws, equal taxation, and the best interests of the country imperatively demand. You will of course consider my letter as entirely confidential, and favor me with an immediate reply. Yours very truly,

JNO. A. GREEN, JR.

To Maj. Genl. H. W. SLOCUM.

General Slocum had already made up his mind to retire from the army, but he delayed his resignation for various reasons, one of which appears in a letter to General Sherman:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI,
VICKSBURG, MISS., *August* 27, 1865.

MY DEAR GENERAL:

Your favor of the twenty-second has just come to hand. I came here without my family and with the intention of remaining only until the surplus generals were mustered out. I did not like to go out with a crowd of worthless officers who should have been mustered out long ago; but I think ——— & Co. will outlive me after all, as I do not intend to spend the winter here. I shall pay you a visit on my way home.

Force has reported and been assigned to the command of the Vicksburg District, relieving Maltby. Force is a good officer and I am glad to get him. Charley Ewing has not yet come.

Woods has been very sick at Mobile but is better. I have met many of your old officers and soldiers since we parted, and all of them, without exception, are "loyal."

I enclose an order just published. I did not like to take this step; but Sharkey should have consulted me before issuing an order arming the rebs — and placing them on duty with the darkies in every county of the State. I hope the U. S. Military will soon be removed from the State, but until this is done it would certainly be bad policy to arm the militia.

Yours, truly,

Maj. Genl. W. T. SHERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

H. W. SLOCUM.

To this letter General Sherman replied as follows:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
ST. LOUIS, MO., *September* 7, 1865.

DEAR SLOCUM:

I have just received your letter of August twenty-seventh. Since I wrote you, Charley Ewing has gone down, and must now be with you. I have read all your orders and of course approve beforehand, as you, on the spot, are the competent judge. Sooner or later the people South must resume the management of their own affairs, even if they commit felo-de-se; for the North cannot long afford to keep armies there for local police. Still as long as you do have the force, and the State none, you must of necessity control. My own opinion

is that self interest will soon induce the present people of Mississippi to invite and encourage a kind of emigration that will, like in Maryland and Missouri, change the whole public opinion. They certainly will not again tempt the resistance of the United States; nor will they ever reinstate the negro. The only question is when will the change occur.

I agree with you that if you see your way ahead in civil life, it is to your permanent interest to resign; it don't make much difference when. You have all the military fame you can expect in this epoch. All know your rank and appreciate you, and I would not submit to the scrambling for position next winter if I were in your place, unless you have resolved to stay in the army for life.

I shall be delighted to meet you as you come up. I am now boarding at the Lindell Hotel, but expect to go to housekeeping in a few days on Garrison Avenue, near Franklin Avenue, a fine property, presented to me, on the outskirts of the city, where I shall be delighted to receive you. My office is on Walnut Street, between five and six, near the Southern Hotel.

Always your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

The resignation of General Slocum was dated September 28, 1865. Leaving Vicksburg, he returned to Syracuse with the intention of resuming the practice of law. To the surprise of his friends he accepted the nomination for Secretary of State on the Democratic ticket. He was in accord with President Johnson's views as to the status of the returning States, and the measures best adapted to the political pacification of the South. It was with keen regret that he broke with his old party friends to whom he had been indebted in his earlier life; but he followed the path of duty as he saw it, yet without questioning the right of others who remained loyally within the old appointed lines. He was defeated in the election that fall, together with the rest of his ticket. It was a Republican year. If the Democratic leaders thought that his nomination would make an inroad in the soldier vote they were mistaken. The Republicans nominated for the same office, Gen. Francis C. Barlow, an officer whose fine war record would fully justify any Republican veteran in adhering to his own ticket at that election. If Slocum was disappointed over his defeat he gave no evidence of it; but Sherman's sympathy for his friend and companion-in-arms appears in his next letter:

Henry Warner Slocum

SAINT LOUIS, MO., *December* 26, 1865.

GEN. H. W. SLOCUM,
Syracuse, New York:

DEAR SLOCUM:

I got home last Friday after a three weeks absence down in Arkansas, and found, among a budget of letters received, your valued favor of Nov. thirtieth. This is my first leisure hour since, and I hasten to assure you of my great personal attachment, and that I would do almost anything that would mark my favor to you.

I think I was more disappointed at your non-election than you could have been; for I thought that politics had not so strong a hold on New York as to defeat you for an office that should have been above the influence of mere party organization. But you are young, and can stand it; and I know that, sometime later, your State will recognize and reward, if you need it, military services such as you rendered your country.

At some future time I will come on to Syracuse and stop a day with you to assure you of my great partiality, and also to renew the short but most agreeable acquaintance formed in Washington with your wife, to whom I beg you will convey my best compliments.

As to delivering a lecture at Albany, I must decline. The truth is, on abstract subjects I know I would be as prosy as a cyclopedia, and not half as accurate; and to speak on matters of personal interest, past, present or future, I would be sure to give rise to controversies, useless or mischievous. Of the events with which we were connected, I am already committed, and must stand by the record. Were I to elaborate them it would detract from the interest of what now stands as a contemporaneous narrative. I really think we do best to let others now take up the thread of history, and treat of us as actors of the past.

Please write to Mr. Doty that I am very much complimented by his flattering invitation; that I appreciate the object he aims to accomplish, and would be glad to assist therein, but that outside considerations would make it unbecoming to appear in the nature of a lecturer. Too much importance has already been given to the few remarks I have made at times when I simply aimed to acknowledge a personal compliment, and to gratify a natural curiosity by people whose imaginations had been excited by the colored pictures drawn by the press.

I have not preserved out of the late war a single relic — not a flag, not a curious shot or shell; nothing but those simple memories which every New York soldier retains as well as I do. I do think that your regiment was so filled by young men of education and intelligence that the commissioners will find their records swelling to an extent that will more than gratify their fondest expectations.

We are now living in great comfort here. Your excellent photograph has its place in the albums of each of my children, and Mrs. Sherman regards you with special favor. Wishing you all honor and fame among your own people, I shall ever regard you as one of my cherished friends.

With respects,

W. T. SHERMAN,

Major-General.

A position in the Regular Army suitable to his previous rank and record was tendered General Slocum by the Government, but as he had other plans in view he declined the honor, expressing his high appreciation of this further recognition of his services. After a brief stay in Syracuse he moved his residence to the city of Brooklyn, where he soon became connected with business enterprises of an extensive character.

Although he had no aspirations for a political life and made no efforts to promote his interests in this direction, political honors were conferred upon him. In 1868 his name was placed on the State ticket as a Presidential Elector; and the next year he was sent to Congress from a Brooklyn district. In 1883 he was elected Congressman-at-Large from the State of New York by a flattering majority. In the discharge of his duties at the National Capital he paid little attention to the details of party or petty legislation, but was always prominently identified with measures relating to the army, the welfare of the veterans, and the various questions arising from conditions engendered by the Civil War. He took an active part in securing the passage of the bill granting a second court of inquiry in the case of Gen. Fitz John Porter, which resulted in the reinstatement of that officer in the Regular Army with his former rank and position. In this generous action he had the concurrence of General Grant, and, also, the approval of every thoughtful student of history who had made a careful, unprejudiced examination of the facts and records bearing on this celebrated case. General Slocum served three terms at Washington, and then, finding that his private business required his entire time and attention, declined a renomination.

Despite his long, busy life, with all the requirements of politics and wide-spread business connections, the general found time to

keep in touch with army acquaintances. Some of the letters written and received by him are interesting in connection with this period of his life:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *March* 8, 1868.

MY DEAR GENERAL:

Your favor of February twenty-fourth has been received. The enclosure (relative to claim for services of a woman in Georgia) was endorsed and forwarded in compliance with your request.

I read with much interest your views as to the future meetings of the officers of your old armies. I have read the proceedings at Cincinnati, including the speeches of yourself and General Thomas, and I frankly confess to you what I have admitted to no other person, that I was a little disappointed that no mention whatever was made by any one of my command under you on the Great March. My command constituted nearly one-half your force on that march, and your reports show that it bore more than one-half of the losses you suffered, and I did think it entitled me to a word of recognition. According to the maps, General Thomas commanded the Army of Georgia as well as that which defended Nashville, and I cannot for the life of me tell what command I had. I begin to doubt whether or not I was with you. In order that I may get posted on these matters, I think I shall attend the next meeting; but I assure you I am too lazy or too indifferent on the subject to quarrel with my associates for "the honors."

Since the eventful days that we spent in Raleigh, I have witnessed some wonderful changes. Logan, who then feared that Frank Blair and myself would be radicals when we reached home, can now throw even old Thad Stevens in the shade. Stanton is earnestly supported by the Grand Army of the Republic, although at that time he was exceedingly unpopular in the Army of Georgia.

Ambition and self-interest have wiped out the memory of the past, buried old friendships, and brought into the same fold those who were then sworn enemies. I presume that it is better that it should be so. Still, I cannot curse a man one day and fawn on him the next. I cannot declare slavery the natural and proper condition of the negro to-day, and to-morrow advocate his right to make constitutions and laws. Hence I think I shall never make a politician. And if I am not a politician, of what value is a military record? Thomas may have the credit of commanding your left wing, and Logan the credit of Bentonville. On personal as well as political matters, I still stand on the Raleigh platform.

Perhaps I owe you an apology for referring to these matters in replying to your kind letter; but as I never allude to them in conversation with friends, or

in letters for the press, I trust you will pardon me for writing to you just what I think and feel.

I am still living a quiet and happy life at my home in Brooklyn where Mrs. Slocum as well as myself will ever be glad to welcome you.

Your friend,

Lieut. Gen. W. T. SHERMAN, H. W. SLOCUM.
St. Louis, Mo.

To which Sherman replied as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *March* 13, 1868.

DEAR SLOCUM:

Yours of March eighth is received. I was very glad to see that you took things so philosophically. It should have been my business to have looked after the interests of the absent; but I was told that all would be toasted and noticed, and as very many officers of the Fourth and Fourteenth Corps were there I looked to them to say some kind words of you. At all events, I was not conscious that any one had been so omitted till the reports came in print, when I saw at a glance what construction you would put upon it. I will, however, make all the amends I can, and aim to bring all together for once this winter at Chicago, early in December, and afford all the armies once in my command an opportunity to have their own spokesmen.

I have a letter from Schofield highly approbating and will now write Thomas, who has never recovered exactly from the criticisms on his slow fighting at Nashville, and my taking out of his army two strong corps, a fact that I see, plain enough, he would ignore.

As to politics, it is impossible for language to convey my detestation of them. I have seen Fear, Cowardice, Treachery, Villainy in all its shapes contort and twist men's judgment and actions, but none of them like politics. It may be that politics are honest, respectable, and necessary to a republican form of government; but I will none of them. As you say, Logan is a sample. I remember his ranting and pitching about that old Pagan in Raleigh, pretty much the same style as now, but slightly different in principle.

They have tried to rope me in more than once, but I have kept out and shall do so as long as I can; and then I hope I shall die before what little fame I have is lost and swept away. Your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN,
Lt. General.

The limits of this brief biography will not permit the publication here of the many interesting letters found among General Slocum's papers relating to the men and affairs of his time. A few, however, contain enough of unwritten history to justify their insertion:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *May 20th*, 1875.

DEAR GENERAL:

Please accept my thanks for the copy of your book received yesterday. I have not yet read it, but have read all the extracts published in the New York papers, together with editorial comments. While I anticipate a great *row* to result from it, I am glad you published it. It throws a flood of light on the story of your campaigns, and not only corrects many errors that have crept into history, but will prevent other falsehoods from appearing.

I accidentally met General Hooker a day or two ago. He was very cordial in his manner towards me. Your book of course became a topic of conversation at once. He is not pleased with it, but was less bitter than I anticipated he would be. He showed me a letter written to him by Geo. Wilkes on October 14, 1864, in which Wilkes relates an interview he had just had with Stanton, in which Stanton shows his animosity to you. He suggests to Hooker that he has placed him in command of a Department where he can not only build up himself, but can undermine you. There is not a doubt but that the letter is genuine, and it is a truthful statement of the interview.

I would like very much to see you. When are you going on the plains? You promised to inform me. Yours truly,

H. W. SLOCUM.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Dec.* 9, 1882.

DEAR SLOCUM:

Looking over the New York papers of this morning I noticed the Club Dinner in Brooklyn in which you and Beecher spoke, and it occurred to me that may be I ought to have written you congratulating you on your recent election to the next House of Representatives. As a matter of course, my thoughts of you, if not of all persons and things, revert back to our army service together, and I do believe I feel the pleasure of a father when any of my old comrades attain anything they desire, be it wealth, influence or station; but time has not stopped, and we hardly recognize each other after seventeen eventful years.

Politics too, seem to color objects as with a glass, and it might seem disloyal for me to rejoice at the success of a Democrat. But if you, General Slocum, want to come to Congress, I surely am glad that you have come endorsed by such a vote of your fellow citizens, which I choose to interpret as more due to your personal merits and qualities than to your partisan associates. One reason of my regret is that you come just as I leave.

Don't for a moment believe that because a few newspaper scribblers have construed me a martyr, and consequently that I am a fit subject for a Presidential candidate. The thought to me is simply repulsive. I would not be a candidate if I could, and I could not if I would. No, I have my house at St. Louis, my family are anxious to get back, and I am equally so. All our neighbors there are jubilant at the idea of our coming back, and I would be the veriest fool to undergo the torture of a canvass and four years of worry and discomfort for an honor I do not covet or appreciate.

I have seen Presidents Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, Grant, Hayes and Garfield, and there is nothing in their experience which tempts me to depart from my convictions. I am under no obligations to sacrifice myself for the Republicans. They called me to Washington against my will, and so legislated that I could not afford to live in a house given to me as a compliment. They cut my pay down below what Lt. Gen. Scott had in 1848, when a dollar was worth two of to-day. Not a year since but my personal expenses have exceeded my salary. They allowed Secretary Belknap to pile up his indignities on me, so that self respect compelled me to go away. All this you know; so that I should owe anything like gratitude to the Republicans is out of the question. But enough. I am glad you have succeeded, and sorry I must leave just as you are coming.

Yours truly,

W. T. SHERMAN.

ARMY BUILDING,
NEW YORK, *Dec.* 29, 1886.

DEAR SLOCUM:

Yours of the twenty-seventh was received yesterday. I am glad you answered the Press Interviewer as you did, and as was reported. Of course, I do not remember the exact words used at the New England dinner, but surely Logan is entitled to even exaggerated encomiums at this time. He had, as you well know, some magnificent qualities and some petty defects. For a long time he rankled over the seeming injustice of my agency in making Howard instead of Logan to succeed McPherson, killed in battle, and he visited on me the injustice of a reduction of pay when I could ill afford it, and succeeded in driving me out of Washington, etc.

But with more mature years he recovered from his spasm, and became more than friendly, not only to me personally, but to the regular army officers and men. This you must have noticed. I have had many most friendly jousts with him in debate and on paper.

Meantime I must go to-morrow to Washington to act as pall bearer at his funeral on Friday. I have official notice that the funeral ceremonies will be held in the Senate Chamber at noon Friday, and that his body will be temporarily deposited in a private vault in Washington, I infer afterward to be transferred to Chicago.

> "And seven cities claimed the Homer dead,
> Through which the living Homer begged his bread."

So the world wags. Ever since the war Logan has been toiling for a maintenance, died poor, and now cities contest for his place of burial.

Always glad to hear from you and hoping to meet you soon,

I am, truly and sincerely, your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

It is doubtful if Slocum could have attained any special prominence in political life. At long intervals some fearless, outspoken man of high ideals is selected by a party organization to head its State or National ticket, but only when the party is in dire stress and the political leaders are obliged to tender the nomination in order to avoid defeat.

But this man, who had always measured up to the highest standard of the Regular Army and its traditions, whose consciousness of his own integrity of purpose prompted him to write General Sherman that he had no "desire to secure favors from him or any other person," would naturally receive but scant consideration from the machine bosses who must always have a candidate with whom they can make a deal, or whom they can bind by promises of patronage. Hence, when Slocum, at the urgent request of enthusiastic friends, allowed his name to come before the Syracuse Convention in 1882 as a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, he was defeated. Had he received the nomination, the phenomenal majority accorded at the polls that fell to his competitor would have been given him as well, and, probably, a still greater one, owing to his popularity and distinguished record. For him, too, the election to the office of Governor would have proved a stepping stone to the Presidency of the Nation. But, whatever ambitions he may have entertained, he

wanted the office only for the power for good it had in it, and so, having made no effort on his own part to secure the nomination, he abided the action of the Convention cheerfully and with unruffled temper.

General Slocum could well afford to forego the preferments of political life in view of the large fortune which accrued from his business ventures. His success in these affairs must have been very gratifying to him when he recalled to mind his efforts in early life to earn sufficient money to provide for his education.

In every enterprise entrusted to his management he displayed an administrative ability which won the confidence and respect of the entire business community within which he operated. His success as an executive officer was demonstrated in the development of the "Crosstown" surface railroad system, which, under his management, became the most profitable line in the city. He was a large stockholder in other lines, and was president of the Brooklyn and Coney Island Railroad Company. Though his holdings in the latter were small compared with his other interests, this company was a special object of his regard. In the management of that property, his quick discernment made him first among local railway presidents to appreciate the merits of electricity as a motive power, and, with characteristic self-reliance, to install that system on his road.

Among the other investments which occupied his attention, he was a director in the People's Trust Company, the Williamsburg City Fire Insurance Company, the Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Company, and the Coombs, Crosby & Eddy Company.

Although the exacting requirements of his business affairs would not permit his continuance in public office, his interest in the welfare of the veterans in his State constrained him to accept an appointment on the first Board of Trustees of the Soldiers' Home at Bath, N. Y. His name was sent to the Senate for this place by Gov. Lucius Robinson, and it was confirmed without reference. This Board, comprising some of the most distinguished soldiers in New York, elected General Slocum as its President, by a unanimous vote at the first meeting. It was an office without emolument or profit, but during the remainder of his life he continued in the discharge of its duties with unabated zeal. Although residing at a great distance from the Home, he seldom missed a meeting, and never failed in his faithful devotion to the institution and its varied interests.

He served also, until his death, as a member of the New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefield of Gettysburg, an office with important and exacting duties, owing to the large sums of money expended by the State in the erection of monuments for each New York regiment and battery that participated in the battle. He was a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and held for one term the highest office in the Commandery of New York. With all his cares and duties he found time for the enjoyments of social life, taking a prominent interest in the affairs and management of the Brooklyn Club.

He was no longer seeking the great things in life. His only ambition was to do what good he could while pursuing the quiet tenor of his way. Gen. Stewart L. Woodford relates that at one time he asked Slocum if there was any truth in the report that he was willing to serve on the Board of Education in Brooklyn. Slocum replied that there was, and said further: "Mayor Schieren is my near neighbor, and I would not like to speak to him myself, but I wish you would tell him that if, when he is making up the list of new trustees, he has no one else, I would like to go on the Board of Education. All my ambition has passed away, but in the closing years of my life I would like to help the children of Brooklyn." And then he added: "A man can do more good in helping the children to be taught well than he can in commanding an army." This incident will be better understood when it is remembered that he taught school himself for awhile before entering West Point.

And so, amid quiet, peaceful pursuits, surrounded by all the enjoyments of an ideal home life, the years passed by.

General Slocum died April 14, 1894, at the age of sixty-seven, after a brief illness, at his home in Brooklyn.

Upon the news of his death the House of Representatives at Washington passed resolutions expressing profound regret and an acknowledgment of the loss which the Nation had sustained. Both the Senate and Assembly at Albany passed similar resolutions and adjourned as a token of respect, the lower house having appointed a committee from its members to attend the funeral. The Common Council of the City of Brooklyn took appropriate action, and ordered that business in the public buildings be suspended on the day of the funeral. The Military Order of the Loyal Legion issued an

obituary pamphlet, and many Posts in the Grand Army of the Republic — some of them in other States — passed resolutions testifying to the loss which the veterans of the war had sustained in the death of their friend and advocate.

The funeral was held at the Church of the Messiah, where the exercises were conducted in accordance with the solemn ritual of the Episcopal service. On the conclusion of the ceremonies in the church the remains were placed on a gun-carriage, and, covered by the flag he so heroically defended, were escorted to Greenwood Cemetery by a large body of troops from the Regular Army and National Guard, under command of Col. Loomis L. Langdon, First United States Artillery. The imposing military pageant, with the funereal music of the bands, made a deep impression on the silent throngs of citizens who lined the route along which the procession moved. At the Cemetery four volleys were fired by a battery of artillery, a bugler sounded "Taps" and the hero was laid at rest.

And so, having lived the allotted years of human life, lived them in honor and to the good of his country and his fellow men, the "good gray head that all men knew" was seen no more.

Slocum and His Men.

A History of the Twelfth and Twentieth Army Corps.

By William F. Fox, Lieut. Col. 107th N. Y. V.

Slocum and His Men.

Prologue.

ON the morning of September 17, 1862, the Twelfth Corps of the Army of the Potomac held the right of the line on the battlefield of Antietam. Its commander, Gen. Joseph K. F. Mansfield, fell mortally wounded while gallantly directing the deployment of his troops as they went into action.

After the battle the important duty of filling the vacancy caused by Mansfield's death devolved upon the War Department at Washington, a task that demanded no small exercise of care and consideration. The Twelfth Corps at that time was composed of veterans who had seen honorable service in the Valley, on the Rappahannock, and in the Maryland campaign; who had fought well at Winchester, Cedar Mountain, Manassas, and at Antietam; it included several crack regiments famous on account of the exceptionally fine material in their ranks, while each division was noted for its high standard of efficiency, discipline and morale. To fill the vacant position a man had to be chosen whose fighting record, military ability and personal character would measure up to the high standard of the troops committed to his charge.

In the Army of the Potomac at that time there was a major-general of volunteers who had recently achieved distinction in the brilliant affair at Crampton's Gap, where the division which he commanded and led in person carried by storm a strong position of the enemy, one of the few successful assaults of the war. His previous record was an exceptionally meritorious one. A graduate of the Military Academy at West Point, he had been given at the outbreak of hostilities, the colonelcy of a fine volunteer regiment which he commanded at First Bull Run, where he attracted favorable attention by his soldierly bearing and military skill in handling his men under fire until he fell severely wounded and was borne from

the field. As a brigade general he won further honors in the Peninsular campaign, and at Gaines's Mill the division which he then commanded helped materially to save the fortunes of the day by its timely arrival and good fighting.

This officer, so well and favorably known throughout the army, was Major-General Henry W. Slocum, a division commander in the Sixth Corps, and on him the War Department conferred the high honor of an appointment to fill the vacancy in the command of the Twelfth Corps. The admirable manner in which he discharged the trust thus confided to him, together with the history of the gallant troops assigned to his command, forms the theme and purpose of the following pages.

The Twelfth Corps.

The history of the Twelfth Corps does not begin properly with the date when it received that designation, but with the prior record of the troops that composed it at that time. Without any material difference in its organization it had previously been known officially as the Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, and then as the Second Corps of the Army of Virginia, before it was designated as the Twelfth.

The regiments from which the corps was originally organized, having enlisted promptly at the first call to arms, were the ones assigned to duty at Harpers Ferry to save that strategic point, and stationed also along the Upper Potomac to guard the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. During the summer of 1861 these same troops occupied the Shenandoah Valley and participated in the operations around Winchester. Though no general engagement occurred, these troops carried on an active campaign in which they made long fatiguing marches and encountered the enemy in frequent skirmishes, an experience that furnished the necessary training for the more arduous and heroic work in which they were destined to take a prominent part.

On July 25, 1861, shortly after the battle of First Bull Run, Gen. N. P. Banks assumed command of the Department of the Shenandoah, with headquarters at Harpers Ferry, relieving General Patterson who returned to Pennsylvania with the three-months troops of his command. The remaining regiments, which had

enlisted for three years or during the war, were organized into three brigades which constituted what was known as Banks's Division.

On March 8, 1862, President Lincoln directed that the various divisions forming the Army of the Potomac should be organized into five army corps, of which the Fifth should be composed of Williams's and Shields's divisions and placed under command of General Banks. These two divisions were composed of regiments, for a large part, that served in these same commands throughout the war — noticeably the Second Massachusetts, Third Wisconsin, Fifth Connecticut, Twenty-seventh Indiana, Twenty-eighth New York and Forty-sixth Pennsylvania of Williams's Division; and the Fifth, Seventh, Twenty-ninth, and Sixty-sixth Ohio, and the Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania of Shields's (afterwards Geary's) Division, together with Best's, Hampton's, Cothran's and Knap's batteries of the artillery. General Williams, an officer of exceptional ability, remained in command of this division throughout the war, and at times he was placed temporarily in command of the Twelfth and Twentieth Corps.*

Kernstown.

The first general engagement in which the troops of Banks's Corps participated was the battle of Kernstown, or Winchester, March 23, 1862, where Shields's Division achieved a signal victory over the Confederate forces under Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, better known perhaps as "Stonewall Jackson."

Kernstown is a little hamlet in the Shenandoah Valley, about three miles south of Winchester. Jackson hearing that Union troops were being withdrawn from the Valley to reinforce McClellan attempted a threatening demonstration for the purpose of preventing any further movement of that kind, and proceeded to occupy a strong position on a ridge at Kernstown. Shields who was holding Winchester with his division moved out promptly and attacked the

* General Alpheus S. Williams was born Sept. 20, 1810, in Saybrook, Ct. Graduated from Yale College, 1831; and from Yale Law School, 1834. After spending three years abroad in travel he returned and settled in Detroit, Mich., where he commenced the practice of law. He served in the Mexican War as lieutenant-colonel of the First Michigan Volunteers. In April, 1861, he was appointed, by the governor of Michigan, brigadier-general of the troops of that State then enlisting for the war, and was placed in command of the camp of instruction at Fort Wayne, Michigan. Commissioned brigadier-general U. S. Volunteers, August 9, 1861, with rank from May 17, 1861; and brevet major-general, Jan. 12, 1865. Mustered out in January, 1866. Minister Resident to the Republic of Salvador, 1866–69. Member of Congress, 1874–1878. Died Dec. 21, 1878.

enemy, driving him from the field, whence the Confederates retreated up the Valley. General Shields was severely wounded in the preliminary skirmishing on the evening of the twenty-second, and was obliged to turn the command over to Col. Nathan Kimball, who directed the fighting during the entire battle of the twenty-third.

Soon after the engagement was over General Banks, with one brigade of Williams's Division, reinforced Kimball, and joining in the pursuit followed Jackson up the Valley as far as Cedar Creek where he halted for the night. The Confederates continued their retreat southward, but fell back slowly, making an occasional stand at favorable points and burning bridges wherever it was necessary to retard pursuit. Banks followed cautiously as far as New Market, where he arrived April seventeenth, and, establishing his headquarters there, pushed his advance on to Harrisonburg, while Jackson took position at Swift Run Gap, one of the nearest passes in the Blue Ridge.

In the battle of Kernstown Shields's Division had three brigades, containing, in all, thirteen regiments of infantry, five batteries of light artillery, and some detachments of cavalry. The casualties on the Union side were, 118 killed, 450 wounded, and 22 missing; total 590. Of this loss, 157 occurred in the Fifth, Seventh, and Twenty-ninth Ohio regiments.

Jackson carried into action three brigades, containing nine regiments and one battalion of infantry; also, twenty-seven pieces of artillery, of which eighteen were engaged. He reported his loss officially at 80 killed, 375 wounded, and 263 missing; total, 718. The Confederates lost two pieces of artillery, and three caissons. Jackson was largely outnumbered, as he had not so many regiments as Shields, and, furthermore, as shown by the official reports, his regiments were much smaller than those opposed to him. He states that his infantry numbered 3,087, all told, of which 2,742 were engaged.

As this was the first success that had fallen to the Union Army in the Shenandoah Valley there was great rejoicing in the North, and Shields, together with his troops, were the recipients of enthusiastic congratulations.

Winchester.

Banks's Corps had advanced southward up the Shenandoah Valley as far as Harrisonburg, where it encamped for three weeks in close proximity to the enemy. The two divisions, together with the cavalry brigade attached, numbered 12,600 effectives. At this

time the Army of the Potomac, under General McClellan, was advancing on Richmond by the Peninsular route, while McDowell's Corps held the line of the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, ready to co-operate with him.

Although Jackson had suffered a signal defeat at Kernstown, the Richmond authorities were highly pleased with the activity he had displayed, because they believed that it would prevent any further detachment of troops from the Union forces in the Shenandoah for the reinforcement of McClellan or McDowell ; in fact Williams's Division was already on its way to Centreville when the fighting at Kernstown necessitated its return to the Valley. To enable Jackson to continue the operations which served to neutralize the large number of Union troops in Western Virginia, Ewell's Division was transferred to his command, giving Jackson a force of over 15,000 men with which to operate against either Banks or Fremont.

On May first Shields's Division was ordered out of the Valley and transferred to McDowell's command, a serious error, as shown by subsequent events, for this division had to return soon in order to again confront the tireless, ubiquitous Jackson. General Banks found himself seriously weakened by this withdrawal of the greater part of his force, for Williams had already lost one of his brigades — Abercrombie's — which had been detached just before the battle of Kernstown and ordered to join McDowell. In view of Jackson's reinforcement Banks could no longer hold safely the advanced line at Harrisonburg, and hence he withdrew on May fourteenth to Strasburg, where he occupied a partly fortified position eighteen miles south of Winchester.

Banks's force consisted now of Williams's Division, composed of two infantry brigades; First Brigade (Donnelly's) — Fifth Connecticut, Tenth Maine, Twenty-eighth New York, Forty-sixth Pennsylvania and First Maryland; Third Brigade (Gordon's) — Second Massachusetts, Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania, Twenty-seventh Indiana, Third Wisconsin, and a company of Zouaves d'Afrique; Artillery — Cothran's, Hampton's, Best's (U. S.) and Knap's batteries, and a brigade of cavalry under Gen. John P. Hatch. The cavalry, attached and unattached, included three full regiments and three of five companies each. In all, the corps numbered about 7,576 effective strength.

Jackson, with his own division and that of Ewell, was waiting in the Upper Valley for a favorable opportunity to surprise Banks and

drive him northward across the Potomac. The combined forces of the Confederates included twenty-seven regiments and two battalions of infantry; twelve batteries of light artillery; two regiments of cavalry and a mounted command of partisan rangers under Col. Turner Ashby. The entire force numbered about 14,000 officers and men available for active duty.

At the important outpost of Front Royal, near one of the mountain passes in the Blue Ridge through which ran the railroad to Manassas, General Banks had stationed a small force consisting of the first Maryland Infantry, two companies of the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Infantry, one section of Knap's Pennsylvania Battery, a detachment of the Fifth New York Cavalry, and Capt. Mapes's company of pioneers, all under command of Col. John R. Kenly of the First Maryland.

Jackson's entire force moved down the Valley through Luray, and screened from observation by the movements of Ashby's cavalry and the high wall of the Massanutten Mountains, attacked Kenly's command on May twenty-third, effecting a complete surprise. The advancing column arrived within one and a half miles of Front Royal before the alarm was given, and then, at two o'clock P. M., the Union pickets were captured or rapidly driven in, Jackson having selected for this purpose the First Maryland Confederate Infantry. The little garrison made a spirited but brief resistance in which Kenly was wounded and the greater part of his command captured, including the two guns of Knap's Battery, not, however, until they had inflicted considerable loss on the enemy.

As it was evident that Jackson's objective point was Winchester, where he could place himself in the rear of the Union forces in the Valley, Banks fell back from Strasburg to that place on the twenty-fourth, having a shorter route than that of his antagonist. Still the withdrawal of the troops, encumbered as they were with a train of over five hundred wagons, together with crowds of fugitive civilians, refugees and negroes, was a difficult task. Frequent halts were necessary in order to beat off the enemy's cavalry which endeavored to pierce the moving column at various points and get possession of the pike. But such was the discipline and efficiency in the infantry of Williams's Division, combined with frequent dashes of the Union cavalry, that, although marching parallel with and in sight of the enemy, each attack was repelled, and the eighteen miles to Winchester were covered without serious loss.

At times the teamsters became frightened by the charges of Ashby's troopers or the shelling from Jackson's batteries, and as a result some wagons were overturned in the confusion or left by the way. It was well into the night before the last of the train reached Winchester, and then the soldiers, weary with fighting and marching, moved to the respective positions assigned them for the battle which all knew must be fought on the morrow to ensure the safety of the trains, that had thirty-five miles yet to go before they would be safe beyond the Potomac at Williamsport.

During the night the Confederate columns closed in around Winchester, and at daylight the battle opened by driving in the Union pickets, while a rapid fire of artillery was maintained by each side. General Banks had formed his troops on the south side of the town, Donnelly's Brigade on the left and Gordon's on the right, with his cavalry well thrown out on either flank, and soon the rattle of musketry told that the line was being pressed throughout its entire length. But Banks and Williams had not hoped to do more than retard the advance of the superior force opposed to them, and so, after holding the enemy in check for five hours, their troops fell back through the town and followed in the rear of the trains on the Martinsburg Pike, the infantry moving in three parallel columns with a strong rear guard for each.

Still, the harassing attacks of the enemy threw the retreating troops into serious disorder at times. One of these affairs occurred some five miles beyond Winchester, in which Banks appealed earnestly to the men to rally and make a stand. "My God, men, don't you love your country?" he pleaded. "Yes," cried a soldier, "and I am trying to get to it as fast as I can." *

The Confederate pursuit was not so persistent but that Banks's wearied troops were able to take a rest of two hours or more at Martinsburg, after which they pushed on to the shore of the Potomac, opposite Williamsport, arriving there at nightfall. They had marched and convoyed their wagon trains from Strasburg, a distance of fifty-three miles, thirty-five of which were covered in one day. There was no bridge at Williamsport, and the improvised ferries would have been wholly inadequate to the safe conduct of the troops had they been attacked; but no enemy appeared, and the corps with its trains, artillery and material, crossed safely into Maryland, where the men were enabled to take the rest so sadly needed.

* History of the Third Wisconsin. By Adjutant Edwin E. Bryant. Madison. 1891.

In the engagement at Winchester and the fighting incidental to the retreat from Strasburg to that place, including also Kenly's losses at Front Royal, the total casualties were 62 killed, 243 wounded, and 1,714 captured or missing; total, 2,019. Of the captured, 685 were taken prisoners at Front Royal, and 344 others were reported from the various cavalry commands. Of the 500 wagons in the train 55 were captured, abandoned or burned; of other vehicles the quartermaster reported a loss of 48, including 11 ambulances. The greatest loss of any regiment in killed and wounded fell to the lot of the Second Massachusetts.

Jackson states his loss at Front Royal and Winchester as 68 killed, 329 wounded, and 3 missing; total, 400. These figures indicate that, so far as the fighting went, Banks's troops held their own remarkably well under the circumstances, and inflicted as great a loss as they received. In addition to the prisoners captured, 750 sick and wounded in the hospitals at Winchester and Strasburg fell into the hands of the victorious Confederates.

Having driven the Union forces from the Shenandoah Valley, Jackson improved the opportunity to make a threatening demonstration against Harpers Ferry, and create an impression that his army, the strength of which had been greatly exaggerated by his opponents, was about to invade Maryland and march against the National Capital. Though he failed to rout, disperse, or capture Banks's Corps, he achieved other results that were valuable to the Confederacy and far reaching in their effect. The War Department at Washington was thrown into a panic of wild apprehension; troops en route for McClellan's army were hurried to other points; Union generals stationed with their commands at various points in Virginia and West Virginia sent clamorous despatches to Washington invoking aid and reinforcements, asserting that Jackson was in their front ready to attack, whereas in some instances he was fifty miles away; McDowell's Corps was withdrawn from Fredericksburg and after much telegraphing and correspondence was hurried by rail and on foot to Front Royal; and, whether for good or bad, McDowell was prevented from joining McClellan at Hanover Court House as previously arranged.

On May thirtieth Jackson, withdrawing from the position which he then held in front of Harpers Ferry and where his command had done some fighting with the garrison at that post, commenced his return march southward and up the Valley. He encountered Fre-

mont in a general engagement at Cross Keys, June eighth, and the next day fought Shields at Port Republic. In the latter affair the brunt of the fighting and three-fourths of the loss fell on Tyler's Brigade, composed of the Fifth, Seventh, Twenty-ninth and Sixty-sixth Ohio Infantry, the same command which afterwards won additional laurels as Candy's Brigade, of Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps. Leaving Fremont to do whatever he liked the Confederate forces marched to Weyer's Cave, whence, after a brief encampment, they moved on June seventeenth toward Richmond, and Jackson left the valley, never to fight there again. Banks's Corps was also ordered to Eastern Virginia, and they too bid a lasting good bye to the scenes of their previous campaigns.

Cedar Mountain and Manassas.

After its retreat from Strasburg Banks's Corps remained on the north side of the Potomac, in the vicinity of Williamsport, until June tenth, a delay due in part to the heavy rains and swollen condition of the river. The men enjoyed a much needed rest, and an opportunity was afforded to refit the column preparatory to resuming the campaign. While at Williamsport a nice looking old gentleman in the uniform of a brigadier came to camp and presented instructions from the War Department placing him — Gen. George S. Greene — in command of Gordon's Brigade. He retained this command for a short time only, as Gordon was soon promoted brigadier for meritorious service in the preceding campaign and, on June twenty-fifth, was restored to his position. But we shall hear a good deal more about this same General Greene before we are through with the records of the Twelfth Corps.*

The river having subsided the corps recrossed, the regimental bands playing the then popular tune of "Carry me back to Ole Virginny," and moved southward by easy marches up the Valley.

The return to Winchester revived the bitter hatred with which the soldiers regarded the citizens on account of the treatment received from the people during the recent retreat through the streets of that town. The soldiers asserted that some of their com-

*Gen. George Sears Greene was born in Rhode Island, May 6, 1801; graduated at West Point in 1823, second in his class. Resigned from the army in 1836 and became a civil engineer. Reentered the army in 1862 as colonel of the 60th New York, and was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, April 28, 1862. Brevetted major-general, Mch. 13, 1865. Retired from the army in 1866. He was 62 years old at the time of his famous defense of Culp's Hill at Gettysburg. Died Jan. 28, 1899.

rades had been killed by shots fired from houses along the line of march. But they resented most the scandalous action of the Winchester dames, who from the upper windows hurled upon them objectionable articles of bedroom crockery. In two regiments of Greene's Brigade the men were outspoken in their threats to burn certain houses which they specially remembered.

The wise old brigadier heard, but said nothing. Just before entering the town he issued orders that the troops should march through the streets in column of fours, and that no officer or man should leave the ranks for any reason whatever. As they entered the place the two disaffected regiments found themselves flanked by other troops closely on each side, and they were marched through Winchester without a halt, out into the fields beyond, feeling and looking more like a lot of captured prisoners than the gay, fighting fellows that they were. They cursed "Old Greene" in muttered tones, but soon forgot it, guessed he was all right, and in time cheered the general as noisily as any other regiments in the brigade.

The corps arrived at Front Royal on the eighteenth, where it relieved McDowell's troops, which had been hurried to this point during the Jackson scare. The corps rested quietly here for three weeks, during which it was strengthened by the accession of Sigel's Division, these troops having been assigned to Banks's command to make good the loss occasioned by the transfer of Shields to the Department of the Rappahannock. This reinforcement, destined to remain permanently as the Second Division — and known subsequently as Geary's Division — was composed of regiments that had been sent from Washington to the defense of Harpers Ferry during the recent campaign. It included the Sixtieth, Seventy-eighth and One Hundred and Second New York, the Third Maryland, and the One Hundred and Ninth and One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania Infantry — six well-drilled regiments and good fighters, that, with one exception,* served in the corps until the end of the war. An official report, dated June 23, 1862, shows the following force as "present for duty" at that time:

Williams's Division: Infantry, 4,814 men; artillery, sixteen guns and 284 men; cavalry, 484 men. Aggregate, 5,582 men.

Sigel's Division: Infantry, 5,220 men; artillery, nine guns and 197 men; cavalry, 353 men. Aggregate, 6,050 men.

* The 3d Maryland was transferred to the Ninth Corps in May, 1864. Tyler's Brigade — 5th, 7th, 29th, and 66th Ohio — and 28th Pennsylvania were not in this division at this time.

Hatch's Cavalry Brigade, 1,979 men.

Aggregate: Infantry, 10,034 men; artillery, twenty-five guns and 481 men; cavalry, 3,116 men. Grand total, 13,631.

On June 26, 1862, the War Department ordered that the forces under Major-Generals Fremont, Banks and McDowell should be consolidated and form one army, to be called the Army of Virginia, and placed under command of Major-General John Pope; that the troops under General Fremont should constitute the First Army Corps; that the designation of Banks's Corps should be changed from the Fifth to that of the Second Corps, Army of Virginia; and that the troops under McDowell should form the Third Corps of this newly constituted army. Fremont, who had hitherto been provided with an independent command, known as the Mountain Department, refused to serve in what he deemed a subordinate position, and asked to be relieved, assigning as a reason that he outranked General Pope. His request was granted, and General Sigel was assigned to the command of his corps. The vacancy caused by this promotion was filled by the assignment of Brig. Gen. C. C. Augur to the command of the Second Division.

On Sunday, July sixth, Banks's troops — now the Second Corps, Army of Virginia — broke camp at Front Royal and started on their march through the Blue Ridge to Eastern Virginia and the theatre of Pope's campaign. Moving by easy stages the troops reached Little Washington on the seventeenth, and encamped along the turnpike between Sperryville and Warrenton, with one brigade — Crawford's — stationed well to the front at Culpeper. Here daily drills were resumed, and there was a review by General Pope. Orders were received cutting down the amount of baggage and transportation, and shelter tents were issued, the latter constituting a well-remembered epoch in the life of each soldier. This article of equipment — "pup tent," as called by the men — had already been in use in the Peninsular campaign. Pope's army lay along a line extending from Warrenton through Sperryville to Luray, with Gordonsville as his objective, where he hoped to break the railroad communications with Richmond.

Banks's cavalry force, which was brigaded under the command of Gen. John P. Hatch, had already commenced operations against the railroad line when events occurred that placed Pope on the defensive. General McClellan having transferred his forces to the

James River, General Lee, on July thirteenth, ordered Jackson's and Ewell's divisions to Gordonsville, and on the twenty-seventh reinforced them with the division of Gen. A. P. Hill. While Lee, with the main body of the Confederate army in the defences of Richmond, awaited some evidence of McClellan's intention, Jackson assumed the offensive against Pope, whose forces, superior in numbers, occupied the country to the north of the Rapidan.

The Confederates crossed the Rapidan August eighth, and advancing on the Culpeper road went into position along Cedar Run, a small stream that skirts the base of Slaughter's Mountain. This mountain was erroneously called Cedar Mountain in the war correspondence and official reports on the Union side, and the battle which ensued has gone into history under that name. In the Confederate reports the battle is named Cedar Run. Banks's cavalry fell back slowly before Jackson's advance. Crawford's Brigade of infantry was sent out from Culpeper to observe the enemy's movements, and assist in checking him, so far as possible, while the forces of Banks and Sigel, and one division of McDowell's, were rapidly concentrating at Culpeper.

On the morning of August ninth Banks's entire corps was ordered forward to support Crawford and meet the enemy — whether merely to retard his hostile advance, or give battle, was a matter which afterwards gave rise to serious dispute. The two divisions — Williams's and Augur's — left Culpeper about nine o'clock and moved forward at a rapid pace to Cedar Run. It was not a long march — only eight miles or so. But the day was still and cloudless, with the mercury in the nineties, and as the troops pushed along in the intense heat through clouds of dust, many fell from exhaustion and sunstroke. One man in the Second Massachusetts staggered out of the ranks, died, and was buried at the roadside. But there was a distant sound of firing ahead, and the regiments marched with well-closed fours and with no straggling other than that caused by exhausted nature.

The head of the column arrived on the field at noon. Within the enemy's line rose the high, steep slopes of Slaughter's Mountain; but the battlefield was situated on the bottom ground to the north, and along the little stream — Cedar Run — which flows through it. Some of the Confederate artillery was posted on the mountain side, the elevation affording an advantageous position that commanded a

portion of the field, although at long range. There was the usual preliminary firing from batteries here and there, and exchange of shots along the picket line, but it was five o'clock before the engagement became general.

Banks formed his lines with Williams's Division on the right, and Augur's on the left. The brigades, running from right to left were in the following order: Gordon, Crawford, Geary, Prince, and Greene. They numbered, all told, 8,030 officers and men.

Jackson went into position with Ewell's Division on his right, Winder's on the left, and A. P. Hill's, which had not arrived when the battle opened, as a reserve. These troops were not all engaged; but the Confederate forces on the field and in the fight numbered 16,868 effectives.*

At five o'clock, the artillery and skirmish firing having become severe, Banks ordered Crawford's Brigade forward to the attack, where it encountered Campbell's Brigade of Winder's Division, and the engagement soon became general throughout the length of the Union line.† A description in detail of the movements of the contesting forces does not belong properly within the limited province of this history; nor would it be of interest to the general reader. A noted writer once said that there was nothing so tiresome as the accounts of the tactical movements of brigades and divisions on a battlefield. Let it suffice here to state that in the opening attack by Crawford's Brigade and regiments of other commands, the Confederate line was driven back in disorder at several points; that Jackson, ordering forward fresh brigades, regained the ground over which Banks's troops had so gallantly fought; that the battle raged with varying success on either side until, outflanked and overpowered, the Union line was driven back, leaving its dead and wounded behind and the enemy in possession of the field.

Nightfall prevented any further fighting, and Banks, availing himself of the welcome darkness, restored his shattered lines and

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* Numbers and Losses in the Civil War. Col. Thomas L. Livermore. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1901.

† "Musketry scarcely ever sounded to us as intense and wicked as it did at Cedar Mountain. During Hooker's fierce onslaught at Antietam, or Sickles's desperate resistance at Gettysburg, both of which we were near enough to hear very distinctly, the volume of musketry was greater. It was evident that more men were engaged. But this evening at Cedar Mountain the firing seemed unusually energetic and terrifying." [History of the Twenty-seventh Indiana. By Edmund R. Brown.]

made ready to resume the contest if necessary. But the sound of the battle had reached the ears of General Pope, and Ricketts's Division, of McDowell's Corps, had been hurried from Culpeper to the front. Arriving on the field at the close of the engagement, some of Ricketts's batteries went into position and opened an effective fire on the Confederate lines, while his infantry threw out a strong skirmish line that warned the enemy of this reinforcement.

Jackson held the field for two days, during which he buried his dead and granted a flag of truce to enable the Union general to discharge the same sad duties and to care for his wounded. Then, without making any effort to advance its line, the Confederate army retreated to Gordonsville. Banks's Corps had defeated Jackson's avowed plan to be at Culpeper on August ninth.

The roster of regiments, with the casualties in each, was:

Battle of Cedar Mountain, Va., August 9, 1862.

SECOND CORPS, ARMY OF VIRGINIA.

MAJ.-GEN. N. P. BANKS.

First Division.

BRIG.-GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

	Killed.	Wounded.*	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. S. W. Crawford.				
5th Connecticut,	21	71	145	237
10th Maine,	24	145	4	173
28th New York,	21	79	113	213
46th Pennsylvania,	31	102	111	244
Third Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon.				
27th Indiana,	15	29	6	50
2nd Massachusetts,	40	93	40	173
29th Pennsylvania,†				
3rd Wisconsin,	17	66	25	108
Co. Zouaves d'Afrique,	2	3	8	13

* Including the mortally wounded. From returns made the day after the battle.

† Absent on detached service.

The Twelfth Corps

Second Division.

BRIG.-GEN. CHRISTOPHER C. AUGUR.

	Killed.	Wounded.*	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. John W. Geary.				
5th Ohio,	14	104	4	122
7th Ohio,	31	149	2	182
29th Ohio,	6	50	10	66
66th Ohio,	10	81	3	94
28th Pennsylvania,†				
Second Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. Henry Prince.				
3rd Maryland,	12	42	16	70
102nd New York,	15	85	15	115
109th Pennsylvania,	14	72	28	114
111th Pennsylvania,	7	74	9	90
8th U. S. Infantry, 12th U. S. Infantry,	8	37	15	60
Third Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. George S. Greene.				
1st District Columbia,		3	1	4
78th New York,			22	22
Staff, -	2	2	3	7
Artillery,	7	27	6	40
Cavalry Escort,	5	5	8	18
Total, Banks's Corps,	302	1,319	594	2,215
Cavalry Brigade,	10	45	9	64
Ricketts's Division,	2	80	20	102
Grand total,	314	1,444	623	2,381

The loss in Union officers was severe. Among the killed were Colonel Donnelly of the Twenty-eighth New York, Lieut. Col. Crane of the Third Wisconsin, and Major Savage of the Second Massachusetts. Generals Augur and Geary were severely wounded. In the Second Massachusetts six officers were killed and five wounded; the Fifth Connecticut and Forty-sixth Pennsylvania lost eleven

* Including the mortally wounded. From returns made the day after the battle.

† Absent on detached service.

officers each, killed or wounded. Of the brigade staff of General Prince, two officers were killed and one severely wounded, and the general was taken prisoner. Crawford's Brigade reported 88 officers and 1,679 men as "present in engagement;" it sustained a loss of 867, killed, wounded, and missing, nearly fifty per cent. The Seventh Ohio carried 14 officers and 293 enlisted men into action; it lost 180 in killed and wounded and two missing,* over fifty-nine per cent. General Augur's wound necessitating his absence, General Greene succeeded temporarily to the command of the Second Division.

The casualties in the Confederate army at Cedar Mountain as officially reported, by regiments, amounted to 223 killed, 1,060 wounded, and 31 missing; total, 1,314. General Winder, who commanded Jackson's old division, was killed by a shell, and 133 officers, field and line, were killed or wounded.

Jackson had forty-five regiments and three battalions of infantry engaged — each of which reported losses — besides his artillery and cavalry. Banks had eighteen regiments of infantry only.

Cedar Mountain came very near being a Union victory. The gallant, impetuous attack of Crawford's troops compelled Campbell's Brigade to "fall back in disorder," as Jackson expresses it; and Gen. A. P. Hill states that Winder's Brigade, "being hard pressed, broke, and many fugitives came back," and that "quite a large portion of both Early's and Taliaferro's brigades had been thrown into confusion." But the great disparity in numbers made Union success impossible, and Banks's men were forced to yield possession of the field.

And yet, something substantial was accomplished. Jackson's advance had been checked completely; he failed to occupy Culpeper as he intended, and he was obliged to recross the Rapidan and retreat to Gordonsville. The result of Banks's attack and his stubborn resistance furnished the only semblance of success that at any time attended Pope's ill-starred campaign. Halleck congratulated the general commanding on his "hard earned but brilliant success," and Pope announced in orders that "Cedar Mountain is only the first of a series of victories which shall make the Army of Virginia famous in the land." But the soldiers, whose thoughts reverted

* These two men, as subsequently ascertained, were killed.

to their dead and wounded comrades left in the enemy's hands, sneered at the order, and expressed surprise that their commander should hold such loose ideas as to what constituted a victory.

If Pope had supported Banks with Ricketts's Division and Sigel's Corps he might have secured the victory which he claimed. Ricketts's command lay between Culpeper and Cedar Mountain all day August ninth, and within five miles, or less, of the field. But Pope says that "the fight was precipitated by Banks" contrary to orders, and that he should have waited until Sigel's arrival. Whether Jackson also would have courteously awaited Sigel's pleasure was a question that did not trouble the general commanding.

General Banks interpreted his orders as meaning that he must fight. As delivered by an officer on General Pope's staff and reduced to writing they read that Banks should "deploy his skirmishers if the enemy approaches, and attack him immediately as soon as he approaches, and be reinforced from here." Dated at Culpeper, August 9, 1862. When Banks asked if there were any further orders Pope referred him to General Roberts of his staff, who was directed to go to the front and assist in selecting the line to be occupied.

Although the corps commander was in no way responsible for the reverses which the Union Army had suffered in the Valley, he felt keenly the severe criticisms that had been made upon his operations there. He had in mind also Pope's boastful pronunciamento of July fourteenth, that was construed everywhere as an unfavorable reflection on the generals of the eastern army. So, when General Roberts, riding at his side, remarked significantly that "There must be no backing out this day," Banks determined to fight whenever and wherever the enemy appeared, and to fight hard.* Whatever General Pope may have thought of the matter, he was kind enough to state in his despatches four days later: "The behavior of Banks's Corps during the action was very fine. No greater gallantry and daring could be exhibited by any troops. I cannot speak too highly of the intrepidity and coolness of General Banks himself during the whole of the engagement. He was in the front and exposed as much as any man in his command." These words of commendation were certainly well merited.

* Report of Committee on Conduct of the War. Testimony of Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks. Vol. III, p. 46. Washington: 1865.

During the operations that followed Cedar Mountain — the Manassas or Second Bull Run campaign — the corps did not participate in the actual fighting to any great extent. Its artillery was engaged at times with creditable success in some of the contests at the fords of the upper Rappahannock, and in the battle of Chantilly it moved up in close support of the firing line. Its principal duties were confined to guarding the lines of communication and the protection of the supply trains, an important but inglorious task. In the course of this duty there were long, fatiguing marches, over dusty roads and under an August sun. There was much of hurrying to and fro under orders from army headquarters, some of which were useless and ill-advised; and, at times, the men suffered from lack of food and water.

The main army was driven back within the defenses of Washington, and on September second the corps arrived at Alexandria, where it halted and enjoyed a brief period of rest in safety. Here a general order was promulgated announcing that General McClellan was again at the head of the army. The news was received throughout the camps with loud cheers, and the feeling of despondency gave way to an enthusiastic hope of better things to come.

General Pope was relieved of his command, and his three corps were transferred to the Army of the Potomac. The Army of Virginia was no more.

Antietam.

On September fourth the corps moved to Georgetown, and, crossing the Potomac on the aqueduct bridge, marched thence to Tenallytown, a village in the District of Columbia, near Washington. The wagon train, with the camp equipage and other supplies necessary to the comfort of the troops, was found here, where it was awaiting their arrival. The brief stay at this place enabled the men to sleep in their tents, enjoy good food, get clean, and refit to some extent.

Gen. Alpheus S. Williams, of the First Division, was in temporary command of the corps. General Banks, whose ill-health at this time unfitted him for active service in the field, had been placed in charge of the defenses of Washington, and he took a final leave of the war-worn troops that had served so faithfully under him dur-

THE DUNKER CHURCH AT ANTIETAM.

From easterly side of Hagerstown and Sharpsburg Pike, showing side of the building facing the road, and end to-

ing the arduous campaigns of the past year. Though it does not appear that the men were ever enthusiastic in his favor, he had gained their respect, and when he left he carried with him their best wishes for his future welfare. Entering the service without any military training or experience, he had displayed a courageous bearing in action and shown an ability of no mean order in the management of affairs. Sadly hampered at times by interference with his plans, he was patient and uncomplaining, and in this respect the records of his official correspondence with the authorities at Washington contrast favorably with that of the other generals at the time.

On the fifth Williams moved his command to Rockville, in Maryland, sixteen miles from Washington. Here five new regiments joined the corps,— the Thirteenth New Jersey and One Hundred and Seventh New York, three-years men, assigned to Gordon's Brigade; and three regiments of the nine-months levy — the One Hundred and Twenty-fourth, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, and One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, which were placed in Crawford's Brigade, all in the First Division. These men, with their full ranks, clean uniforms and bright, new flags, were viewed with wonder and curiosity by the old campaigners. Each one of these regiments at dress parade showed a longer line than that of some veteran brigade. They still had some of the characteristics pertaining to raw recruits, having been in service but a month or so. They had attained, however, a commendable proficiency in drill, and in the great battle which soon followed it was noticed that they deployed under fire with steadiness, and faced the enemy with a cool courage that elicited praise in the official reports. Though the sound of their good-byes was still lingering in their northern homes, they were destined to fill scores of bloody graves before many days had passed.

Lee's victorious army had crossed into Maryland. An invasion of the North was threatened. Washington and Baltimore were in danger. McClellan was busily engaged in reorganizing and strengthening the shattered and defeated armies which had been turned over to his command in order to save the Capital and drive the exultant, confident enemy back into Virginia.

While at Rockville the corps moved a short distance and formed line of battle. The preparations indicated that an attack was expected. But not a shot was heard; in fact, there was no enemy within many miles. The cause of this alarm was unknown at the time, and has remained so ever since; at least it does not appear in any record. It may have been ordered merely for the purposes of drill — perhaps to give the new regiments an opportunity to acquaint themselves with an important part of their tactical duties.

In his advance through Maryland in pursuit of the enemy General McClellan moved his army in three parallel columns, the two corps of Sumner and Williams having the central line of march. Leaving Rockville on the ninth, Williams advanced his troops to Middlebrook; the next day to Damascus, where they halted for two days; and thence on the twelfth to Ijamsville, a station on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

The Twelfth Corps received its official designation as such on September 12, 1862, an important date in the history of this organization. In General Orders, No. 129, of that date, the President directed that the Second Corps of the Army of Virginia should become the Twelfth Corps, Army of the Potomac.

On the thirteenth the Twelfth Corps, as now designated in orders, moved from Ijamsville to Frederick, fording the Monocacy River on the way. It arrived there at noon and halted near the town. The men stacked arms in the same fields that were occupied the previous day by the Confederate division of Gen. D. H. Hill. Within a few minutes a soldier of the Twenty-seventh Indiana — Private B. W. Mitchell — picked up a piece of paper containing an order written at Confederate headquarters, which he promptly handed to Col. Silas Colgrove of that regiment. This lost despatch, so opportunely found, was immediately transmitted through the ordinary medium of communication to McClellan's headquarters, where it was found to be a general order signed by Lee's adjutant-general, giving directions for the movements of the entire Confederate army and thus revealing the plans of the enemy. Colgrove says that this paper when picked up was wrapped around three cigars.*

Fully informed now as to the location and movement of each column in the Confederate army, McClellan gave immediate orders

* Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Vol. II, p. 603. Century Company, New York.

for an advance, and overtaking them attacked their rear in the passes of the South Mountain. Here the enemy had made a determined stand, but he was defeated and driven out with serious loss.

On the same day — the fourteenth — the Twelfth Corps moved forward also, and marching through Frederick the troops pushed on towards the front, where the fighting had already commenced. Behind them the Sabbath bells were ringing in the Frederick steeples, their peaceful sound mingling with the sullen boom of the artillery at South Mountain and Harpers Ferry. The march this day, though not a long one, was wearisome in the extreme. The roads were occupied by cavalry, artillery and ammunition trains. The infantry moved across fields and through tall standing corn, where the still, close air intensified the suffocating heat. Up and over the Catoctin Range they climbed and then marched down into the beautiful valley of the Catoctin Creek, wading this stream long after dark. It was past midnight when the head of the column reached the field, and went into position ready to begin the fighting at daylight if necessary. But the enemy retreated during the night, leaving his dead unburied on the field.

Maj. Gen. Joseph K. F. Mansfield, an old officer of the Regular Army, had been assigned to the command of the Twelfth Corps, and he joined it on the morning of the fifteenth, the day after the battle of South Mountain, General Williams resuming charge of the First Division. Mansfield was a white bearded veteran of advanced years, who had served in the Mexican war with many honors, and wounds as well. Prior to joining the Twelfth Corps he had held important commands at Fort Monroe, Norfolk and Suffolk. His dignified,soldierly demeanor created a favorable impression, and withal he had a kindly manner that appealed strongly to the men in the ranks. But fate had decreed that his term of command was to be all too brief, that it was soon to end in a soldier's death.

Resuming its march on the fifteenth the corps moved over the battlefield, thickly strewn with the ghastly evidences of the fighting on the previous day, and on into the valley of the Antietam Creek. While on the road there was a sound of cheering in the distance which swelled into a tumultuous roar as McClellan and his staff rode by. The men greeted him with enthusiastic shouts and tossed their hats wildly in the air. But when he passed the Third Wisconsin

and Second Massachusetts, these regiments, with the strict ideas of discipline inculcated by their West Point colonels, made no noisy demonstration, but, preferring to give the general a marching salute, fell into step and went by at carry arms with eyes to the front.*

The march this day led through the little hamlet of Boonsborough, where the church and several houses had been converted into hospitals for the Confederate wounded, while along the roadside lay many of their dead. General Mansfield was sitting on his horse near a dead Confederate who was covered with a blanket, when a sergeant in one of the new regiments stepped out of the ranks and pulled aside the covering to look at the dead man's face. Mansfield spoke up quickly — "There, there, Sergeant! No idle curiosity! Don't uncover the face of the dead. You will soon have a chance to see all you want of them." And the first man shot that the sergeant saw was Mansfield himself.

That night the corps bivouacked in the fields near Keedysville, not far from the Antietam Creek. The next morning — the sixteenth — brought orders to move, and line of battle was formed. Just over the low ridge of hills that skirted the stream a lively cannonade was in progress, that sounded as if it were close by. Hooker was shelling the enemy's lines on the farther side of the creek; at times a brisk skirmish fire was heard. The gray haired corps commander as he rode along his line announced that they were going into battle immediately; but his troops did no fighting that day. Everywhere the brigades and divisions of the other corps were going into position. As far as the view extended were regiments on regiments, many of them closed en masse on close column by division that looked like solid squares, with their colors in the center. It was a grand, a memorable sight. The hours passed quickly, and, in the fading light of a gorgeous sunset the men prepared their evening meal. Then, while the bugles were sounding sweet and clear from distant camps, they made their simple bivouac under the starlight and lay down to sleep.

But their rest was short. At eleven o'clock the men were awakened and ordered to fall in quietly; they were instructed to make no noise. Silently and half asleep the column moved off in the darkness, and crossing the Antietam on one of the upper bridges

* History of the Third Wisconsin. By Edwin E. Bryant. Madison: 1891.

PORTION OF ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD.

arrived at their designated position after a three hours' march. The corps was now on the farm of J. Poffenberger, at the right of the Union army, and in rear and partly to the left of Hooker's Corps. A heavy dew was falling, but the men threw themselves down in the wet grass for a few hours of sleep. They were soon startled from their heavy slumbers by a volley of musketry that rang out noisily on the night air from a piece of woods close by. It was an accidental collision between the Confederate pickets of Hood's Division and a regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserves. Nothing came of it, and soon all was quiet again.

Wednesday, September 17, 1862 — the day of the battle of Antietam. No bugle in the Twelfth Corps sounded reveille that morning; the call had already been sounded by the rifles of the skirmishers as they rang out sharp and clear on the morning air. This firing commenced at daylight — so early that the musketry showed a red flash in the dim mist that overhung the fields and woods. The dropping fire of the skirmish line was soon followed by heavy volleys intermingled with a rapid, continuous discharge of light artillery. Hooker, with his First Corps, had opened the battle by making a vigorous attack on the enemy's left.

Aroused by this heavy firing in its immediate front the Twelfth Corps fell into line. By Mansfield's orders the regiments were formed in column by division, closed en masse, with the exception of some of the new ones, which, on account of their full ranks, were formed in close column by companies. In this formation the troops moved forward up onto the plateau, where the First Corps was battling hard to retain possession of the ground which it had gained in its opening attack, and halted in close support of Hooker's line. It was now about six o'clock in the morning.

General Lee had selected for his position, in which to make a stand against the Union advance, the high ground situated on the tongue of land that lies between the Potomac and Antietam Creek, just north of the confluence of these streams. The ground sloped in front to the Antietam, and on the rear to the Potomac, on which the left of his line rested. His right ended at the creek, a short distance below the stone bridge — subsequently known as Burnside's bridge — and not far from where this stream empties into the Potomac. The general direction of the line was north and south. Parallel with it and a short distance within ran the stone pike

known as the Hagerstown Road. Near the south end of the Confederate position and protected by it was the village of Sharpsburg. At the centre, by the road, was a small brick building, known as the Dunker Church. Standing in the edge of the woods, without a spire or belfry, it resembled a country schoolhouse. Around and in front of this church the battle raged fiercely all day; it was the Hougoumont of that field. Jackson was in command of the Confederate left wing, with the divisions of Ewell, J. R. Jones, A. P Hill and D. H. Hill; the right wing, under Longstreet, comprised the divisions of McLaws, D. R. Jones, Walker and Hood. Some of these troops did not arrive on the field until after the battle was in progress.

On the Union side the First Corps (Hooker's), supported by the Twelfth, was on the right; the Second Corps (Sumner's) supported by the Sixth (Franklin's), occupied the centre; and the Ninth (Burnside's), on the east side of the Antietam, held the left. The Fifth Corps (Porter's), on the east side also, was held in reserve. Franklin's troops — the leading division — arrived on the field at ten o'clock.

It was between six and seven o'clock in the morning that Hooker, in his contest with Ewell, found himself unable to make farther progress, owing to the reinforcements sent against him. He called on the Twelfth Corps for help. Mansfield, who had been personally superintending the deployment of the new regiments, ordered Williams's Division to the assistance of the First Corps, and then, deploying Greene's Division, put these veteran troops into action on Hooker's left.

Williams advanced in fine style, with Gordon's Brigade on his left and Crawford's extending on the right to the Hagerstown Road. One of Crawford's regiments — the Tenth Maine — passing to the left of the division, advanced to the woods on the east side of the turnpike, opposite the Dunker Church, and made a brisk fight for the possession of this vantage ground. General Mansfield, while directing the fire of these men, was mortally wounded and borne to the rear,* while his riderless horse galloped wildly back and forth over the ploughed field where this occurred. General Williams was now in command of the corps; and right well he discharged his

* History of the Tenth Maine. By Major John M. Gould. Portland: Stephen Berry. 1871.

PORTION OF ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD.

View of position held by Greene's Division, 12th Corps, on east side of Sharpsburg Pike. The line of the Pike is indicated by the buildings in the background. The end of the Smoketown Road, where it joins the pike at the Dunker Church, is seen at extreme right. The Maryland State monument is in front of the church on the opposite side of the pike.

duties during all the intricate movements and desperate fighting of the day.

Three regiments of Gordon's Brigade — Twenty-seventh Indiana, Third Wisconsin, and Second Massachusetts — encountered, in the famous cornfield, Wofford's Brigade of Hood's Division, inflicting on these opponents one of the bloodiest losses in the war. The Second was placed where it could deliver an effective cross fire. Colonel Work, of the First Texas, one of Wofford's regiments, states in his official report that he lost his colors, while his casualty return shows a loss in killed and wounded of eighty-two per cent of the number in action.*

But Gordon's brave fellows suffered terribly also. Colonel Colgrove, of the Twenty-seventh, reports that of the 443 in line with his colors, 209 were hit, or 47 per cent; and Colonel Ruger, of the Third Wisconsin states that of the 340 officers and men carried into the fight he lost 198, or 58 per cent. The Second Massachusetts captured the colors of the Eleventh Mississippi, of Hood's Division, taken by Sergeant Wheat, of Company E. And this was the kind of men that fought under the flags of the Twelfth Corps.

While this contest was being waged, in which the troops of Hooker and Mansfield had steadily forced the Confederates back and across the pike into the woods around the Dunker Church, Greene's Division was doing equally good work farther to the left and south. These troops, under their veteran leader — a hero of two wars — had advanced rapidly and driven the enemy out of the large grove situated on the east side of the pike. A lane — Smoketown Road — fenced on each side, runs from the church to this grove, a distance of fifty rods or more. Some historians of the battle designate this locality as the East Woods.

Passing through these woods Greene halted a short time in the fields beyond, while his men replenished their cartridge boxes. He then wheeled his line to the right to meet an advancing body of the enemy's troops, and, attacking them fiercely, drove them across the pike into the West Woods, around the church. His division secured a lodgment and held it for a long time; but, with the failure of the attack made by Sedgwick's Division of the Second Corps, Greene

* In a recent letter received by the author from Gen. E. A. Carman, of the National Commission for the Battlefield of Antietam, he states that the loss of the 1st Texas was sustained in an encounter with the 9th, 11th and 12th Regiments, Pennsylvania Reserves.

found himself in a dangerous position. His line was too far advanced; it was unsupported on either flank. Greene then fell back across the pike. But before doing so his little regiments — some of them numbering less than two hundred men — did effective work and added their full share to the laurels won by the Twelfth Corps on this field. In the Fifth Ohio, Private John P. Murphy captured the flag of the Thirteenth Alabama; and Corporal Jacob G. Orth, of the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, captured the colors of the Seventh South Carolina. Each of these gallant soldiers received a medal of honor from the War Department in recognition of his heroic action. The official reports made by the regiments in Greene's Division indicate that the fighting at times was unusually desperate, the men engaging at one place in "a hand-to-hand combat," in which some of his soldiers used "clubbed guns, a portion of the men having no bayonets." *

The artillery of the Twelfth Corps, under Capt. Clermont L. Best, United States Army, maintained its previous reputation for efficiency, the batteries of Knap, Hampton, and Cothran rendering conspicuous and valuable service. At a critical period of the battle, when Sedgwick's Division was driven out of the woods at the church after its gallant but unsuccessful assault, the enemy attempted to follow up its advantage by an advance across the pike into the open fields. But Cothran's Battery — M, First New York Light Artillery — supported by the One Hundred and Seventh New York Infantry, opened on them with such a rapid and destructive fire of canister that the Confederates were forced to fall back into the woods, leaving the ground thickly strewn with their dead and wounded.

The Twelfth Corps after seven hours of continuous fighting or exposure to the fire of the enemy was relieved by Franklin's troops. The two divisions then moved slowly to the rear, stacked arms, and the men, having been without food since the night before, were given an opportunity to build coffee fires and break their fast. The battle was over. McClellan had gained considerable ground; but Lee still held a strong position in the woods around the church and presented an unbroken front to his antagonist.

As the Twelfth was the smallest corps in the army — two divisions only — its aggregate of casualties was less than that of some of

* Official Records. Vol. XIX, Part 1, p. 507.

MAP SHOWING MOVEMENTS
OF THE
TWELFTH ARMY CORPS
AT THE
BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, MD.,
Sept. 17, 1862
Scale
½ ¼ 0 1 Mile
Union Troops
Confederate Troops
MERCERVILLE
12th Corps Sept. 17th
CRAWFORD
STAINROOK
TYNDALE
GOROON
GOODRICH
SMOKETOWN
KEEDYSVILLE
General Direction of Confederate Line of Battle
General Direction of Confederate Line of Battle
12th Corps Sept. 16th
POTOMAC
RIVER
SHARPSBURG
National Cemetery
PORTERSTOWN
Sept. 17, 1862 (Evening)
Sept. 16, 1862
Confederate Line of Retreat
SHEPHERDSTOWN

the other corps. Still, it was large enough — 275 killed,* 1,386 wounded, and 85 missing; total, 1,746. Among the many officers killed were, the gallant old corps commander, General Mansfield; Col. William B. Goodrich, Sixtieth New York, in command of the Third Brigade, Greene's Division; Col. Samuel Croasdale, One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania; and Lieut. Col. Wilder Dwight, Second Massachusetts. Eighty officers were killed or wounded.

The roster of the Twelfth Corps at this time, together with the casualties in each regiment, was as follows:

Battle of Antietam, Md., September 17, 1862.

TWELFTH ARMY CORPS.

(1) MAJ. GEN. JOSEPH K. F. MANSFIELD (killed).
(2) BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

First Division.

BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Crawford.				
10th Maine,	21	50	1	72
28th New York,	2	9	1	12
5th Connecticut,†				
46th Pennsylvania,	6	13		19
124th Pennsylvania,	5	42	17	64
125th Pennsylvania,	28	115	2	145
128th Pennsylvania,	26	86	6	118
Third Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon.				
27th Indiana,	18	191		209
2nd Massachusetts,	12	58	3	73
13th New Jersey,	7	75	19	101
107th New York,	7	51	5	63
3rd Wisconsin,	27	173		200

* This report does not include those who died of their wounds, the latter being reported at the close of the battle with the wounded.

† Absent on detached duty.

The Twelfth Corps

Second Division.

Brig. Gen. George S. Greene.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.				
Lieut. Col. Hector Tyndale.				
5th Ohio,	11	35	2	48
7th Ohio,	5	33		38
29th Ohio,*				
66th Ohio,	1	23		24
28th Pennsylvania,	44	217	5	266
Second Brigade.				
Col. Henry J. Stainrook.				
3rd Maryland,	1	25	3	29
102nd New York,	5	27	5	37
109th Pennsylvania,*				
111th Pennsylvania,	26	76	8	110
Third Brigade.				
Col. William B. Goodrich.				
3rd Delaware,	6	11		17
60th New York,	4	18		22
78th New York,	8	19	7	34
Purnell (Md.) Legion,	3	23		26
Artillery Brigade,	1	15	1	17
Staff,	1	1		2
Total Twelfth Corps,	275	1,386	85	1,746

The comparatively small loss in some of Greene's regiments is due to their reduced numbers at this time. The actual number carried into action by some of them was reported as follows:

3rd Maryland,	148
111th Pennsylvania,	243
3rd Delaware,	126
60th New York,	226
78th New York,	221

* Absent on detached duty.

The entire loss of the Army of the Potomac at Antietam, by corps, was:

	Killed.	Wounded.*	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Army Corps,	417	2,051	122	2,590
Second Army Corps,	883	3,859	396	5,138
Fourth Army Corps,†		9		9
Fifth Army Corps,	17	90	2	109
Sixth Army Corps,	71	335	33	439
Ninth Army Corps,	438	1,796	115	2,349
Twelfth Army Corps,	275	1,386	85	1,746
Cavalry Division,	7	23		30
Total,	2,108	9,549	753	12,410

The casualties in the Confederate army, as reported by Jackson, Longstreet, and D. H. Hill, amount to 1,679 killed, 9,116 wounded, and 2,292 missing; total, 13,187. But these figures include the losses at South Mountain and Crampton's Gap, and no separate statement was made for Antietam. McClellan states that he captured "more than 6,000 prisoners" in the Maryland campaign; but the reports of his subordinates fail to show where all these men were taken.

The statements as to the relative strength of the contesting armies are unsatisfactory. General Lee says in his report that he fought this battle with "less than 40,000 men on his side." The returns of the various divisions under his command indicate an effective strength of 51,844.‡ He complains that his army was greatly reduced by straggling; that "a great many men never entered Maryland at all;" that "many returned after getting there, while others who crossed the river held aloof;" that the "arduous service, great privations of rest and food, and long marches without shoes had greatly reduced the ranks before the action began;" and that "these causes compelled thousands of brave men to absent themselves," while "many more had done so from unworthy motives." Despite these complaints General Lee's field return

* Includes the mortally wounded.

† Couch's Division only; arrived on the field September eighteenth.

‡ Colonel Livermore.

for September twenty-second, three days after recrossing the river, shows 36,418 present for duty, not including his cavalry and reserve artillery, which are not reported. If to this number are added also his losses at Antietam — 11,000 at least — it would indicate that there were several thousand Confederate stragglers or absentees, and that they rejoined their commands with amazing promptitude. In stating his strength at Antietam at less than 40,000 General Lee must have been misled by the estimates of his subordinates.

But the Army of the Potomac suffered from straggling also. The forces given General McClellan for the purpose of driving Lee out of Maryland had been reduced by hard fighting and exhaustive campaigning, and were badly demoralized by successive defeats. He reported that his forces at Antietam numbered 87,164; but he does himself injustice in this statement. It is based on the morning reports, in which the "Present for duty" includes noncombatants and stragglers. For instance: He places the strength of the Twelfth Corps at 10,126; but there were three regiments of this corps absent on detached duty; and the official reports of the various regimental commandants at Antietam, stating the number carried into action by each, indicate that there were not over 8,000 in line with their colors on the field. This difference between the number returned as "Present for duty" on the morning reports and the number carried into action is a matter that is fully understood by every adjutant and orderly sergeant. Under that caption were included musicians, company cooks, and men on commissary, quartermaster and medical duty; soldiers detailed illegally as officers' servants, and stragglers who were expected to turn up in a day or so — "All present for duty," such as it was, provided they didn't have to go on the firing line. It is doubtful if McClellan had 60,000 men in line at Antietam, including his reserves.

General Hancock had evidently noticed the extraordinary discrepancy between morning reports and actual strength, and so, at the next battle — Fredericksburg — he ordered each colonel in his division to make a count of the men in line just before going into action. As a result, his famous division received credit for its gallant fighting there, because there were definite figures available on which to base its percentage of loss. If McClellan had exercised the same forethought at Antietam the historians would have less to say about his overwhelming numbers.

The Confederates managed these things better. In their monthly reports the men returned as "Present for duty," or "Present effective" were not only present but effective also. Hence the Confederate returns were a better indication of actual strength than the morning reports of the Union armies.

During the eighteenth, the day after the battle, McClellan did not resume the offensive, and the Confederates lay quietly behind their picket line. The hostile ranks were very close, and all that day the two armies watched each other attentively. McClellan, after consulting with his corps commanders, decided to await the arrival of reinforcements that were near at hand, and then renew the attack on the nineteenth. Couch's Division of the Fourth Corps, and Humphrey's Division of the Fifth, arrived on the eighteenth, after a rapid, fatiguing march; the expected reinforcements from Pennsylvania failed to appear. But Lee's forces recrossed the river in the night at one of the fords in their rear. The water was low and his men had no difficulty in wading the broad stream. When McClellan's skirmishers advanced on the morning of the nineteenth they met with no resistance. The enemy had gone; the invasion was ended.

General McClellan, in his official report, states that in the Maryland campaign his army captured thirteen pieces of artillery, thirty-nine colors, over 15,000 stand of small arms, and more than 6,000 prisoners, without losing a color or gun. Some writers through an evident desire to belittle McClellan's success in driving Lee back into Virginia, have called Antietam a drawn battle. But they never speak of Gettysburg as such, although the results were the same. At the close of each battle the Confederates were in line all the next day, awaiting and inviting an attack. Then they retreated in good order and recrossed the Potomac. Lee's facilities for withdrawal were much greater at Antietam, for the river was close by and at a fordable stage. At Gettysburg his army had thirty-five miles to march before it could reach the Potomac, and when it arrived there the crossing was delayed by a flood that rendered the stream impassable for several days. Yet no one ever speaks of that battle as a draw. Both Antietam and Gettysburg were Union victories, and for the same reasons.

Finding that the enemy had gone, the Army of the Potomac moved on towards Harpers Ferry. The Twelfth Corps in its

march passed over the battlefield, on which hundreds of the Confederate dead were still lying unburied. The faces of these fallen men had turned black, while their bodies were so swollen and distended that their clothing was burst open. On no scene of fighting during the war were there such horrible sights exposed to view as on this ground. Crossing Burnside's Bridge and passing through Sharpsburg the corps marched to Maryland Heights. Across the Potomac, through the purple autumn haze, the tents of Lee's army in Virginia could be seen. The First Division encamped here, or in this immediate vicinity, several weeks, while the Second Division occupied Loudoun Heights, on the Virginia side of the river. The five other corps of the army occupied Bolivar Heights, Pleasant Valley, Sandy Hook, and other places near Harpers Ferry.

While here, on September twenty-ninth, five new regiments were assigned to the Twelfth Corps — the Twentieth Connecticut, the One Hundred and Twenty-third, One Hundred and Forty-fifth, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, and One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York Infantry. The three first named were placed in the First Division — the others in the Second Division. They were composed of exceptionally fine material, and made a welcome addition to its depleted ranks. A few days later the One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania was also assigned to Geary's (Second) Division. This regiment had just been organized by taking five companies from the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania — a fifteen-company command — and adding to this veteran battalion five companies of newly enlisted men. Since its first organization under General Banks, the corps had contained but two divisions only, and so a third division — Whipple's — was added at this time, October twenty-second; but the arrangement was of short duration. When McClellan's army moved southward shortly after, leaving the Twelfth Corps at Harpers Ferry, Whipple's Division was transferred to Sickles's Corps. But few, if any, of the men in the Twelfth Corps knew that it ever had a third division.

Another event, the most important in the history of the corps, occurred during the stay at Harpers Ferry — the assignment of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum to its command. The order of the War Department announcing this appointment was dated October 15, 1862. The news was received by the men with hearty, outspoken satisfaction, for there was scarcely a soldier in the ranks who

had not heard of his brilliant record in the war. The story of the gallant manner in which he personally led his division in its successful assault at Crampton's Gap was still told around the camp fires. He was received with a kindly enthusiasm, that was not to lessen but rather increase during the campaigns in which they served under him throughout the remainder of the war.

The Army of the Potomac moved into Virginia in the last week of October, and following Lee's forces southward occupied the passes of the Blue Ridge, where it held a position in front of the enemy from which it could operate to advantage. On November fifth McClellan was relieved from command for alleged inactivity. During the forty-nine days that had elapsed since the battle of Antietam he had remained most of the time at Harpers Ferry, awaiting supplies which he deemed necessary before ordering another advance. Whether so long a delay was justifiable is a question that has been much discussed. But it will be noticed that when, after the great victory at Gettysburg, ten months elapsed without a general engagement, the pet phrase of "masterly inactivity" was no longer heard.

When McClellan ordered the Army of the Potomac into Virginia — in October, 1862 — he left Slocum's Corps at Harpers Ferry to guard this important point until operations should render its further occupation unnecessary. While here the Second Division — Geary's — made at different times a reconnoissance in force up the Shenandoah Valley, in which it did some skirmishing and made large captures of men, arms, horses and supplies. In each division some regiments were busily employed in felling timber and in the construction of fortifications for improving the defensive advantages of their position. The Third Brigade (Ruger's) of Williams's Division left Maryland Heights on October twenty-ninth, and moved up the Potomac to the Antietam Iron Works, where it relieved some troops of the Fifth Corps that were picketing the river front.

The position of the Twelfth Corps, December 4, 1862, as officially reported by General Slocum, was as follows: Geary's Division, with eighteen pieces of artillery, was encamped on Bolivar Heights. Of Williams's Division, one brigade (Kane's) was in Loudoun Valley; Knipe's Brigade occupied Maryland Heights; and Gordon's Brigade was guarding the fords of the Potomac near Sharpsburg. One regiment — Tenth Maine — was stationed on the river at Berlin

to watch the ford at that place, and two regiments were at Frederick on guard duty.

By November the troops had built comfortable quarters, expecting to pass the winter in these camps; but on December tenth marching orders were received, and on the following day the corps assembled at Harpers Ferry. Crossing the Potomac and then the Shenandoah, the column moved up and around Loudoun Heights, and marching through Hillsborough and Leesburg arrived at Fairfax Station on the sixteenth. The weather was cold, and the men bivouacked the first night on frozen ground or in the snow. At Fairfax the dismal news of the defeat at Fredericksburg was received, whereupon the peripatetic debating clubs relieved the tedium of the march by reopening the discussion of McClellan's removal.

The march was continued to the Occoquan, which was forded at Wolf Run Shoals. Here a halt was made, some of the regiments stacking arms behind a line of earthworks that had recently been constructed by the Confederates on the hills overlooking the ford. A cold rain was falling, in which the men lay down to sleep as best they could without tents. The next day the corps returned to Fairfax Station, with the exception of a brigade in Geary's Division, which pushed on to Dumfries. The activity of the Confederate cavalry necessitated two more trips to Wolf Run Shoals, one of which was memorable for the rapid marching done.

Candy's Brigade, of Geary's Division, did not return to Fairfax Station with the rest of the corps, but remained at Dumfries, having been assigned to duty there. The three regiments then present with the brigade — Fifth, Seventh and Sixty-sixth Ohio — were attacked on December twenty-seventh by Stuart's cavalry, a force of about 1,800 men, composed of select detachments. A brisk fight ensued, in which the Confederate cavalry dismounted and fought as infantry. There was some artillery firing also, a section of McGilvery's Battery, attached to Candy's command, replying to the enemy's guns with good effect. Lee's troopers were repulsed, after which they continued on their raid to the Occoquan. Candy lost in this affair thirteen killed and wounded. Lieut. Charles A. Walker, Fifth Ohio, was among the killed. General Lee reported a loss of ten, including a captain killed and a lieutenant-colonel wounded.

New Year's day, 1863, found the corps still at Fairfax Station. The First Division was reviewed by General Slocum on Sunday,

January fourth, affording a military display that drew throngs of spectators from the neighboring camps. The "old" regiments in Ruger's Brigade attracted admiring attention as they went by, not so much on account of their good marching as their peculiar drill. They adhered to the old Scott manual of arms, and so came down the field to the reviewing officer at "Shoulder Arms" instead of the "Carry." Their guns were held with the butt of the piece in the left hand and the polished barrel to the front. As they came in sight, with companies perfectly aligned, the rows of shining rifles glittered brightly in the sunlight, giving these troops a distinctive appearance that elicited favorable comments from all who saw them. On the following day Slocum reviewed the two brigades of Geary's Division that were stationed at Fairfax.

Many of the regiments built comfortable quarters at Fairfax, some of them erecting neat log cabins of uniform size and appearance, all in perfect alignment on the company streets. The camp of the Second Massachusetts, which was especially neat, handsome, and serviceable, attracted scores of admiring visitors from the troops in its vicinity. The occupants did not enjoy them long, however.

On January 17, 1863, Burnside telegraphs Halleck: "If I order General Slocum's corps to join me, can his place be supplied by some of General Heintzelman's command?" In an hour or so he sends another message saying, "I am very anxious for an answer to my dispatch in reference to General Slocum." Whereupon Halleck replies that "Slocum's forces are at your disposal, as heretofore; but Heintzelman cannot occupy his position in considerable force without drawing troops from the fortifications, which cannot be permitted." The same old story. Washington must not be left unprotected! But the matter is arranged somehow, and Burnside telegraphs Halleck the next day that "Slocum is under orders to move at daylight to-morrow morning, with the understanding that Heintzelman holds the line of Bull Run and the Occoquan." And so the Twelfth Corps is off to the front again.

January 19, 1863, the corps starts on its march to join the main army at Falmouth, where Burnside is busy with his preparations for another advance, the famous "Mud March," as it resulted. Slocum's orders were to move his forces to the front as expeditiously as possible. At the start the roads were in good condition, making the first day a comfortable and uneventful one. But a heavy rain set in

on the night of the twentieth, and continued for two days. Roads and streams became impassable. Burnside abandoned his campaign, and ordered his army into winter quarters. The Twelfth Corps on reaching Stafford Court House received orders to halt there. Geary's Division encamped at Aquia Creek, where the men assisted in unloading the vessels that arrived there freighted with supplies for the army at the front. The regiments commenced immediately the erection of substantial, comfortable quarters, which they were permitted to occupy during the remainder of the winter, from January twenty-third to April twenty-seventh. General Burnside was relieved from command on his own request, and General Hooker succeeded him in the precarious post as commander of the Army of the Potomac.

The position of the corps at Stafford Court House and Aquia Creek required but little picket duty or arduous service. The time was utilized in battalion drills, officers' recitations, camp instruction, and in securing the return of absentees who were tarrying in hospitals or elsewhere without sufficient reason. General Hooker employed active measures to increase the strength and efficiency of his army, special attention being paid to the health of the camps. The daily ration was improved by the issue of soft bread, vegetables and fresh beef, while the close proximity of the Potomac enabled the men to further increase the variety of their fare with oysters and fresh fish. The entire equipment was so thoroughly renewed and completed that, when the troops started on the ensuing campaign, there was not even a shoestring lacking. It was the "finest army on the planet."

General efficiency was further promoted by a series of rigid inspections. Regiments that were found to be deficient in drill, discipline, and camp conditions were deprived of furloughs and leaves of absence, both officers and men, until the necessary improvement in these respects was made. Each camp was visited, without any preliminary notice, by an inspecting officer of high rank detailed for that special purpose. A regiment was ordered into line, arms inspected, tents and company streets examined, all without any opportunity for preparation. It was a severe test, but a proper one.

Of the 324 infantry commands in the Army of the Potomac, 11 regiments received honorable mention in General Orders, No. 18, March 30, 1863, as having "earned high commendation from inspecting officers," for which they were granted additional privileges, furloughs, and leaves of absence. The eleven regiments so conspicuously

honored were the First, Second,* and Twentieth Massachusetts, the Tenth* and Nineteenth Maine, Fifth and Tenth New York, Fifth New Jersey, One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania,* Third Wisconsin,* and First Minnesota. Of the eleven, four belonged to the Twelfth Corps. As there were seven infantry corps in the Army of the Potomac it will be seen that Slocum's men won a large share of the honors thus distributed, and showed a high degree of efficiency that reflected credit on their able commander as well as themselves. At the same time it was freely claimed around the camp fires of the corps that there were other regiments in the Twelfth that were equally entitled to this coveted distinction; but as the board of officers at general headquarters had done so well by the corps in making its selections the feeling subsided into one of general satisfaction.

But history requires mention of another phase in the matter that was not alluded to so often. This same General Order contained another and a longer list of regiments that had been reported unfavorably by the inspectors; and, unfortunately, the Twelfth Corps was represented there also. In justice to these regiments it should be said that there were extenuating facts that did not appear in the General Order, or, as for that matter, in the inspectors' reports. Two or more of these commands had been detailed on fatigue duty of an exhaustive kind. One of them, in particular, had been ordered to Hope Landing, where it was employed in the construction of a corduroy road through a swampy forest. It was an unusually inclement season, with frequent rains and snow. The men worked long hours with no compensatory conditions aside from the whiskey ration doled out at nightfall each day when, tired, cold and wet, they returned to camp and crawled under their little shelter tents. On the sudden appearance of the inspecting officer, the men were called out of the swamp and formed in companies on a bleak side hill, where their "pup tents" had been aligned as well as could be among the stumps and rocks. When the inspector commented unfavorably on the dull appearance of the guns in one company, its gray-haired captain touched his hat respectfully and, pointing to a pile of spades and picks near by, suggested that the officer kindly note those also — that those were the only weapons his men had been permitted to handle, and that he would find them very bright indeed. When this regiment was relieved from its work on the roads it moved to a suitable location, built admirable quarters,

* Twelfth Corps.

resumed its daily drills, and at the next inspection displayed ranks of polished rifles that shone brighter even than their well-worn picks and shovels. But in the meantime General Order, No. 18, had been issued; they were under the ban.

For several months the men in Kearny's Division, Third Corps, had worn on their caps a diamond-shaped patch of flannel, which served to distinguish them from other troops in battle, on the march, in camp, or wherever they were seen. General Butterfield, Hooker's chief of staff, recognizing its practical uses and advantages, conceived the idea of marking each division and corps in a similar manner. So, on March 21, 1863, a circular was issued from General Headquarters assigning a distinctive badge to each corps, to be worn on the caps of men and officers — red for the first division, white for the second, and blue for the third. The design allotted to Slocum's Corps was a five-pointed star. The form of their badge pleased the soldiers of the Twelfth; they would have selected it had they been given the privilege of a choice. They were now the "Star Corps" as they expressed it — never lost sight of the fact, and felt it incumbent on them to do all they could in battle or elsewhere to maintain the ideal which they had thus assumed. They wore this badge with honor through all the rest of that long war, and displayed it proudly in the final Grand Review in Washington in 1865.

The stay at Stafford and Aquia Creek furnished an opportunity also for brigade and division reviews, and a spectacular one, April tenth, in which the entire corps was reviewed by President Lincoln. As these manœuvres completed the preparations for the spring campaign, they were soon followed by orders to provide the men with eight days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition, forty rounds to be carried in the cartridge boxes and twenty in the knapsacks. Marching orders were delayed, however, for a few days on account of unfavorable weather, and the troops did not break camp until Monday, April twenty-seventh.

The Twelfth Corps was now in fine condition for an active campaign — well-drilled, thoroughly equipped, and in the highest state of efficiency. The Medical Director of the Army reported its ratio of sickness at less than six per cent, the lowest of any corps except the Sixth. The return for April thirtieth showed a strength of 765 officers and 13,450 enlisted men "present for duty equipped" — infantry and artillery. It contained thirty regiments of infantry and five batteries of light artillery, twenty-eight guns in all.

Early on the morning of the twenty-seventh the Twelfth Corps took the road, and marching as far as Hartwood Church that day, bivouacked there. The next morning the men were awakened without any sound of drum or bugle, for the movement of the column was intended to be a surprise. The march was conducted quietly, the soldiers having been instructed to refrain from cheering, shouting, or any unnecessary noise. The entire corps encamped that afternoon at four p. m. near Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock. Here General Slocum, pursuant to his orders, took command of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. He was instructed to proceed with them to Chancellorsville, where he would be joined by the Fifth Corps, which he was to assume command of also by virtue of seniority.* This order placed General Slocum in temporary command of the right wing of the army, composed at that time of the three corps mentioned and Pleasanton's cavalry.

The march was made in fine weather, on roads free from mud or dust. The air was pleasant with the mildness of southern spring and fragrant with the perfume of early flowers. The peach trees were everywhere in bloom, adding beauty to a country diversified with farms and woodlands. At times the view from some elevation on the route presented all the interesting sights incidental to a marching army — the long, dark column winding its tortuous course across the landscape, while as far as one could see it could be traced by the shimmering light reflected from the polished rifles.

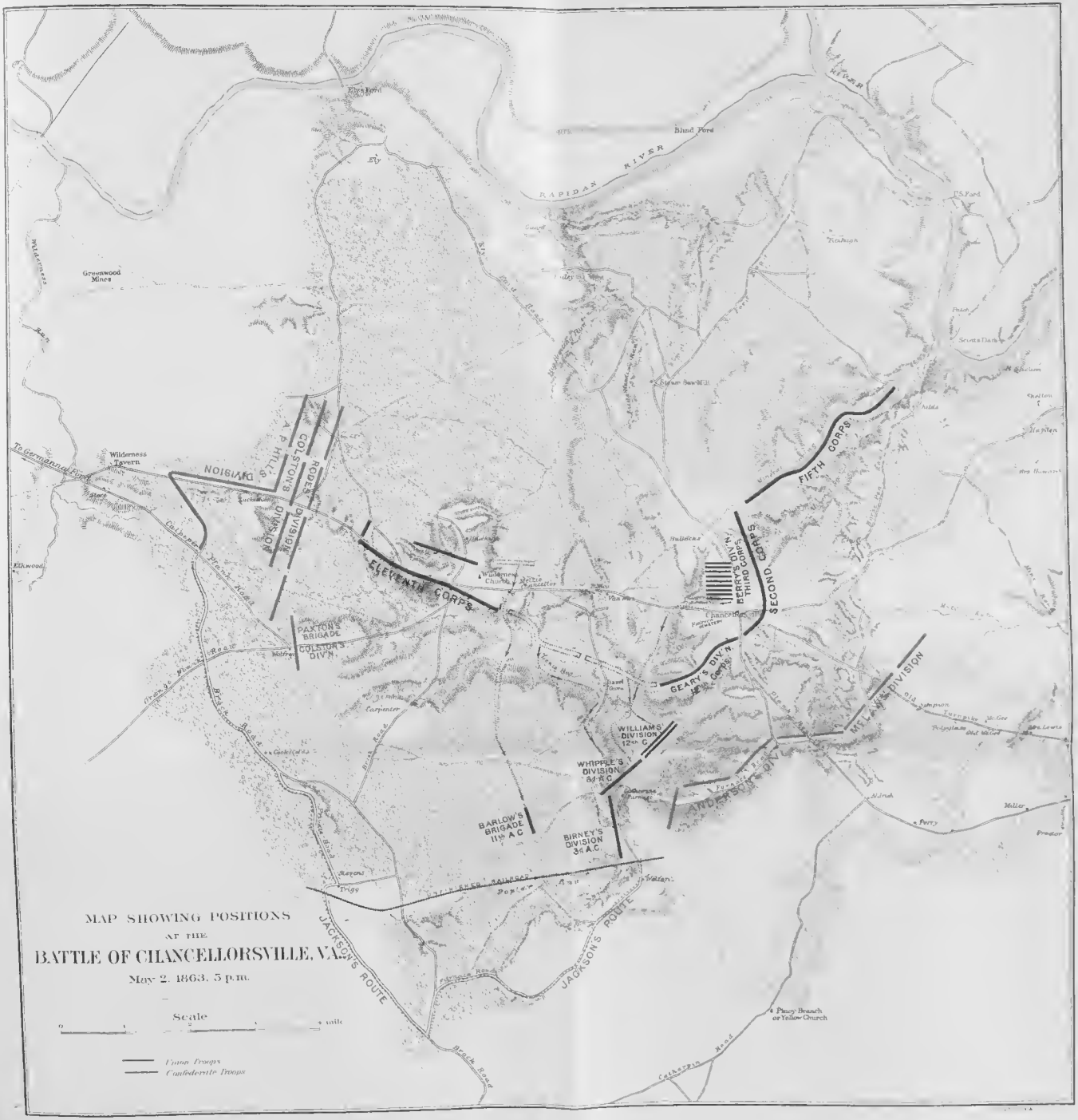
The march was resumed on Wednesday morning, April twenty-ninth, at four o'clock. The Twelfth Corps, followed by the Eleventh, crossed the pontoon bridge at Kelly's Ford, and pushed rapidly forward to Germanna Ford on the Rapidan. Here Ruger's Brigade, having the advance, surprised a detachment of Confederates who were engaged in building a bridge across the river. Nearly all of the latter, 125 in number, were on the opposite side of the stream; but a well-directed fire from the skirmishers of the Third Wisconsin and Second Massachusetts prevented their escape. The "Johnnies" lost a few men killed or wounded, after which they came out from behind the old mill and piles of bridge timber where they had sought shelter, threw up their hands, waded the stream and surrendered. On their way to the rear they gave frequent vent to expressions of astonishment when they saw the thousands of troops

* Official Records. Vol. XXV, p. 274.

that were massed in the woods and fields along the road. Slocum's movement thus far had evidently been conducted without the knowledge of the enemy.

The sound of the firing brought General Slocum quickly to the front. When the affair was over he gave orders for the immediate crossing of the river. There was some hesitation, some talk of waiting for the completion of the bridge on which the pioneers of the corps had already commenced work; for the current was deep, swift and dangerous. It was noticed that in the detachment of cavalrymen that attempted the crossing some of the horses were swept off their feet and carried down the stream. Slocum returned shortly and, seeing the delay, used some sharp words of disapprobation over the seeming neglect to obey his orders promptly. The men fixed bayonets immediately, hung their cartridge boxes and haversacks on their bayonets, and plunged into the chilling water, the One Hundred and Seventh New York taking the lead. The water came up to the armpits of the soldiers, and as the bottom was rough and stony some of the men stumbled and lost their footing. A party of cavalrymen mounted on the largest, heaviest horses formed a cordon. with short intervals, in the stream just below the wading, struggling line of infantry, and when a man was swept down the stream he was rescued by one of the troopers, who grabbed the unfortunate "doughboy" by the hair. Despite these precautions there was a rumor at the time that three men of the First Division were drowned, although the official reports make no mention of this occurrence. Ruger's and Knipe's Brigades, with Battery M, First New York Light Artillery, forded the river. It was noticed that as the guns of the battery were hauled out on the farther shore the water poured in streams from the muzzles. By the time these troops had passed over, the bridge was completed far enough to permit the passage of the rest of the column dry shod.

In directing the action of the troops while fording the river no detail escaped the eye of the corps commander. Some trifling delay was caused by men who waited while they transferred the contents of their pockets to their haversacks. Noticing this Slocum shouted, "Never mind your pocketbooks, boys, but keep your powder dry!" This order was greeted with a hearty laugh and cries of "All right, General;" but, nevertheless, the wily veterans succeeded in keeping their pocketbooks dry as well as their cartridges.



MAP SHOWING POSITIONS
AT THE
BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE, VA.
May 2, 1863, 5 p.m.

Scale
0 1 2 3 4 miles

Union Troops
Confederate Troops

While Slocum was sitting on his horse, intently watching his men who were struggling so manfully in the river, an officer rode up and, presenting the compliments of General Meade, announced that the Fifth Corps had just arrived at Ely Ford the next ford below. He informed Slocum that the water there was very deep, up to a man's hips; said something about pontoons, and seemed to be asking for instructions. Slocum replied somewhat curtly that his men were fording through swift water breast deep, and that the Fifth Corps must cross without further delay.

The troops of the Twelfth Corps were all across the Rapidan before night. They then moved on a mile or so and bivouacked, the men sleeping in their wet clothes, with the further discomfort of a cold rain that commenced falling soon after dark. The Eleventh Corps and the wagon trains came over the bridge during the night, aided by the light of numerous fires that flared brightly in the darkness until daylight came.

Early the next morning the march was resumed, with Geary's Division in the lead. He encountered some opposition from the Confederate cavalry which had been observing Slocum's movements closely all the way from Kelly's Ford. There was an exchange of shots at times, in which the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania sustained some losses. But there was no halting of the main column, and the thirteen miles between Germanna Ford and Chancellorsville were rapidly traversed. By two o'clock both corps were at the latter place, together with the Fifth Corps, which having a shorter route had arrived there first, and had already pushed one division well out on the road to Banks's Ford. The orders received by Slocum to seize and occupy Chancellorsville had been carried out, and he now held this point on the enemy's flank and rear with 42,000 men. The strategical movement planned by General Hooker had been successfully executed. The latter, however, had contemplated the occupation of a point beyond the Chancellor House, so as to seize and hold the road upon which the enemy subsequently moved its forces. Why or how it happened that this was not done belongs to the disputes of history. General Hooker never submitted his official report of the details of the Chancellorsville campaign; and if he had, it is probable that the differences which that campaign engendered between himself and some of his subordinate generals might have been more clearly explained.

Opposed to Slocum at this time were three brigades of Anderson's Division, which had fallen back from the river fords and were now busily intrenching themselves in a position which they had selected about five miles distant on the road to Fredericksburg. The two remaining brigades of this division were in supporting distance. At evening General Hooker arrived at Chancellorsville, whereupon Slocum resumed command of his own corps.

On the following morning the Second and Third Corps arrived, having crossed the Rappahannock at the United States Mine Ford, which had been uncovered by Slocum's movement. The large clearing around the Chancellor house — the only building in sight — was now filled with the troops massed there, and as the Second and Third Corps came up Slocum's men looked curiously at the corps badges which most of them were now seeing for the first time. Hooker had now five corps on the ground, the two remaining ones — First and Sixth, with one division of the Second — being still at Fredericksburg, where a part of these troops had crossed the river below the town to make a threatening demonstration that was expected to hold a portion of Lee's army there.

Thursday, May first, found Hooker with his army well in hand, on ground of his own selection, and ready for an offensive movement. He planned an advance towards Fredericksburg that would take his army out of the wilderness and, by uncovering Banks's Ford, enable him to effect a junction with his left wing, or bring it within supporting distance. He ordered the Fifth Corps to move down the river road to Banks's Ford, while the Twelfth and Eleventh advanced on other roads parallel with it. But the order was not issued on the previous evening as it might have been, and hence the movement lacked the promptness necessary to success. It was eleven o'clock before a start was made. As Griffin's Division of the Fifth Corps moved out on the river road it soon encountered opposition. The Twelfth was still at the Chancellor house, and as a shell was seen bursting over the woods a captain in the One Hundred and Seventh New York looked at his watch and remarked, "Twenty minutes past eleven; the first gun of the battle of Chancellorsville."

During the morning, before this movement commenced, the following order, dated the evening before, was promulgated and read to the soldiers of each regiment:

THE CHANCELLOR HOUSE

[illegible] where the battle was in progress. View shows southeast corner, the [illegible] Plank Road" is in front of the house.

It is with heartfelt satisfaction that the Commanding General announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him. The operations of the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps have been a succession of splendid achievements.

By command of Major General Hooker.

This announcement was greeted with enthusiastic cheers. But it was noticed that some of the veterans received it with silence, smoking their pipes in a thoughtful mood. When reproached for his seeming apathy one of them replied that Lee had never been known to ingloriously fly, and that he would probably come out and fight, in which case it would be better to wait until after the battle before doing any cheering.

The advance of the three Union corps towards Fredericksburg was somewhat slow, owing to the dense woods that made it difficult to maintain alignment and connection. In the meanwhile, General Lee, who had been informed by his cavalry as to the movement on Chancellorsville,* took vigorous measures to check this further advance. As the Union forces in his "front near Fredericksburg continued inactive," he sent Jackson with the main army to intercept Hooker, retaining only Early's Division and Barksdale's Brigade to hold the town. Jackson ordered Anderson to cease intrenching, and then gave directions for an offensive movement with the intention of driving the Union forces back to their position at Chancellorsville.

Hooker soon received word that Sykes's Division of the Fifth Corps, which had taken the old turnpike or middle road, had met with opposition that prevented its advance. He sent Hancock's Division of the Second Corps to Sykes's support, but shortly after — at one p. m. — issued orders withdrawing all these troops to Chancellorsville. These instructions were reluctantly obeyed; and not without unfavorable expressions of opinion on the part of some of the generals at the front.† Slocum and Howard had met with no serious resistance; and Meade states that two of his divisions on the river road had reached a point "within view of Banks's Ford with-

* Official Records. Vol. XXV, Part I, p. 796.

† The Chancellorsville Campaign. By Maj. Gen. D. N. Couch. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Vol. III, p. 159. Century Co.: New York. 1888.

out any opposition from the enemy when the order of recall was received." On the other hand General Hooker was "satisfied" that "as the passage-way through the forest was narrow" he "could not throw troops through it fast enough to resist the advance of General Lee, and was apprehensive of being whipped in detail."* Whether Hooker could have whipped Jackson on May first, and fought his way out of the woods, must remain always a matter of conjecture.

The Army of the Potomac, although it largely outnumbered its opponents, was now placed on the defensive. Its line was formed with the Eleventh Corps on the extreme right, along the Orange Plank Road, facing south; the Twelfth came next, extending to the intersection of the roads at the Chancellor house, with Williams's Division on the right and Geary's on the left of the corps line, then the Second, bending sharply to the rear and facing east; and then the Fifth, which held the left of the army, with its flank resting on the Rappahannock River. The Third Corps was in reserve, except Birney's Division, which went into position during the night on the front line, between the Twelfth and Eleventh Corps. Telegraphic communication with Washington and connection with the base of supplies was maintained by the United States Ford, where three pontoon bridges had been laid by the Engineer Brigade.

During the afternoon, as Hooker's forces retired to the position at Chancellorsville, the Confederate columns followed closely, and, circling the line established by Hooker, made tentative attacks at various points to develop the outline of his position. Most of this pressure was directed against Slocum's front. It continued until after dark, with a brisk interchange of artillery fire at times, involving considerable loss in the Twelfth Corps. Two field officers, one line officer and a large number of enlisted men lost their lives in this desultory fighting. The firing having ceased, Slocum ordered his men to strengthen their position by felling trees to form an abatis, and all night long the woods echoed with the sound of axes and crashing timber.

The forenoon of Saturday, May second, passed without any active fighting on the part of either army. The picket firing became quite noisy at times, followed by intervals of comparative quiet.

* Testimony of General Hooker before the Committee on the Conduct of the War.

Slocum improved the opportunity by having his men erect defensive breastworks along their entire front, constructed of logs, earth or whatever material was convenient. It was the first time that the soldiers of the Twelfth Corps had provided themselves with any protection of this kind upon a battlefield.

The Army of Northern Virginia at this time was composed of two corps — Longstreet's and Jackson's — each 30,000 strong, exclusive of cavalry. Longstreet with two of his divisions — Hood's and Pickett's — was engaged in the siege of Suffolk. The two other divisions — Anderson's and McLaws's — were at Chancellorsville, and on the morning of May second were in position opposite the Chancellor house, confronting, respectively, Geary's Division of the Twelfth and Hancock's of the Second Corps. But Jackson, with his corps, had withdrawn that morning, and, concealed by the forest, was moving along the Furnace Road with the intention of placing his forces across Hooker's right flank.

In making this wide detour Jackson's troops were obliged to cross an opening in the woods, south of the Chancellor house, where they could be plainly seen by a large portion of the Union army. At this point, near the old Welford Furnace, the road turns to the south and follows that direction for some considerable distance. The direction of the Confederate column along this portion of its route was interpreted in the Union lines as a retreat towards Richmond. General Sickles, with two divisions of the Third Corps and Williams's Division of the Twelfth, moved out of their works and attacked Jackson's rear guard, shelling his trains and capturing several hundred prisoners. Williams's Division took no part in this affair, being in support of the movement, but in a position where it threatened the left flank of McLaws.

The position of each army was now a remarkable one. Lee had only two divisions in Hooker's front, while more than half his forces were miles away on a circuitous march through the forest. On the Union side was a line of vacant breastworks that had been occupied by Williams's and Birney's Divisions, leaving the Eleventh Corps disconnected and isolated.

When Jackson arrived at his destination he formed his three divisions in three parallel lines across Howard's flank, completing his preparations for an attack without alarming his antagonist. He had seventy regiments of infantry, numbering, with his artillery, over

27,000 men. His two front lines were each two miles long, running north and south, and extending a mile on either side of the plank road.* In front of him and perpendicular to his line lay the Eleventh Corps in its breastworks, holding the right flank of Hooker's army, but faced to the south instead of towards Jackson. It was a small corps — twenty-seven regiments — its returns for April thirtieth showing 12,977 "present for duty equipped," including artillery. It had been weakened that afternoon by the detachment of a brigade — Barlow's — which had been sent out to the support of General Sickles.

Jackson attacked fiercely at six p. m., effecting a complete surprise. The Eleventh Corps, out of position and outnumbered more than two to one, was swept away. No body of troops, no corps in the Army of the Potomac, could have held its ground under such circumstances. Some of the brigades on the left of the corps line, having more warning and a better opportunity, made a creditable resistance, the casualty returns of the Eleventh showing that before it abandoned its ground it sustained a loss of 1,429 in killed and wounded, and 974 missing or captured.

When Slocum heard the attack on the Eleventh Corps he promptly recalled Williams's Division and placed it on a line at a right angle to its former one, its right resting on the plank road, where it connected with Berry's Division of the Third Corps. With this change of front Slocum was ready to meet Jackson's victorious troops. Geary's Division, which had also made an advance during the afternoon was ordered back into its works. Slocum's two divisions now formed two sides of a square.

Williams and Berry, aided by a well-directed fire from the Twelfth Corps artillery under Captain Best, checked Jackson's advance, and night soon stopped the fighting for awhile. There were occasional fierce outbreaks where troops, moving into position, collided in the darkness, and at midnight the gloomy woods were lighted up again by the flaming cannon and fitful glare of musketry as Sickles fought his way back to the Union lines. Then all was still once more, and the men listened ruefully to the weird, plaintive notes of the whip-poorwills, which were never known to sing so long and loud as they did that Saturday night at Chancellorsville.

At daybreak — Sunday, May third — the Confederates renewed

* The Battle of Chancellorsville. By Colonel Augustus C. Hamlin. Bangor. 1896.

their attack, directing it mainly for three hours against Williams and Berry. Each attack was repulsed, the fire from Williams's line having been remarkably effective as shown by the casualty returns of the Confederate brigades in its front. Geary's Division was also attacked within half an hour after the battle opened. The men with the white star on their caps held their ground stoutly, taking the offensive at times. Some of the fighting was at close quarters, in which the One Hundred and Second New York captured the flag of the Twelfth Georgia. The Seventh Ohio and One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania forwarded each a Confederate flag to headquarters,* the division repeating in this respect its brilliant achievement at Antietam. But the enemy succeeded in placing batteries on the high ground at Hazel Grove, some distance to the right of Geary, which exposed his line to an enfilading fire of artillery, in addition to the musketry directed against his front. Were it not for the protection afforded by its breastworks the division could not have maintained its position, although the works availed but little against the shelling from the right.

At eight a. m., after three hours of steady fighting, Slocum sent word to Hooker that his men were nearly out of ammunition, that he must have a fresh supply, or else his troops should be relieved. Williams's Division was then relieved by troops from Sickles's Corps, after which Slocum retired to a position near the Chancellor house, where his infantry refilled their cartridge boxes. His artillery remained in action, however, and did not withdraw until the Union line was driven in, losing in the meanwhile two battery commanders killed — Hampton and Crosby — sixty-three cannoneers dead or wounded, and sixty-three horses killed in harness. The batteries then went into position on the second line without the loss of a gun.

The efficient service rendered by the Twelfth Corps on this field is fully recognized in the official reports and historical narratives written by its opponents. On Sunday morning a portion of Williams's Division was confronted with McGowan's South Carolina Brigade, and in Caldwell's History of that famous organization the author, an officer in the First S. C. Infantry, gives an interesting picture of the Red Star men as they appeared in action. He says:

We could not see much for the morning was foggy, and the smoke of both lines soon became so dense that I could not even distinguish the colors of the

* Official Records. Vol. XXV, Part II, p. 594.

enemy. The firing waxed furious. Our advance was checked, the cheering hushed; all on both sides addressed themselves to loading and firing as rapidly as possible. The two right regiments were hotly engaged. Indeed the 13th and 14th South Carolina had to fire at right oblique. The slaughter of Orr's Rifles, and the 1st South Carolina was immense. General McGowan, just behind the colors of the First huzzahed lustily, seeming to be at the highest enthusiasm. The Federals fired with unusual accuracy. It was to be expected, for we stood in full relief upon the crest of the hill. The few men they had scattered along the ravine behaved with provoking composure.

They deliberately loaded their pieces behind the trees, stepped out, picked their men, fired, and returned to the trees to reload.* In the course of time, however, they were discovered, and forced to lie close. Archer's brigade, as I understand it, was to move clear to our right, and at some inclination to us, so as to strike the enemy in flank. The latter must have apprehended something of the sort, for they hugged the fortified hill with singular pertinacity. But now we were at a standstill. The enemy became emboldened, and advanced upon the unprotected right flank of our brigade. At last he swung forward so as almost to enfilade our line. The Rifles gave way. The First followed slowly, and the movement extended gradually to the left of the brigade. But we halted at the line of works about 70 or 80 yards from the last position; and the enemy continuing to advance, we resumed battle. General McGowan was wounded upon the works. Brig. Gen. Colston brought in a fresh line, saying they would show us how to clear a Federal line. But their reckoning was not accurate; they were forced back with us into the works. The firing continued unintermitted, deadly.

By noon the Confederates had seized the ground around the Chancellor house, and were in full possession of the field. The brunt of the battle had fallen on the Twelfth and Third Corps. The First Corps, one of the most efficient in the army, had arrived the evening before; but it was held in reserve, and was not permitted to fire a shot aside from its picket line. If it had been thrown into action its weight would have turned the scale.

Hooker fell back to a new line, a semi-circular one with either flank resting on the river and covering the United States Ford, his only remaining means of communication with his base of supplies. The Twelfth Corps was placed on the extreme left, going into position there at ten p. m., Sunday evening, the last day of the battle. Lee made no further attack on Sunday afternoon, but availing him-

* Among the Union troops referred to here the men of the 27th Indiana were conspicuous for their coolness and the careful, deliberate aim with which they discharged their pieces.

THE PLANK ROAD.

self of Hooker's inactivity he detached a portion of his army to meet Sedgwick's advance from Fredericksburg, where the Sixth Corps had made a brilliant and successful assault on Marye's Heights. Sedgwick's effort to join Hooker was defeated, and his corps was forced to retreat across the river the next day at Banks's Ford.

The Army of the Potomac lay idle within its intrenchments at the Rappahannock for two days more. A heavy rain set in that soon raised the water in the river to a height which threatened the destruction of the pontoon bridges, and the troops had already consumed the eight days' rations with which they started on the campaign. Influenced by these conditions General Hooker ordered his army to recross the river and return to their camps. The Twelfth Corps crossed on Wednesday morning, the sixth, and, continuing its march through rain and mud, traveled twenty-three miles back to Stafford Court House and Aquia Creek, where, late in the night, they reoccupied their abandoned, roofless huts.

Hooker's forces in the Chancellorsville campaign numbered 122,306, exclusive of his cavalry, but including the First Corps and Gibbon's Division of the Second, which were not engaged. His losses, not including Stoneman's raid, were 1,597 killed, 9,721 wounded, and 5,720 captured or missing; total, 17,038.

Lee's army numbered 57,352,* including all three arms of the service. His losses were 1,665 killed, 9,081 wounded,† and 2,018 captured or missing; total, 12,764. In many of the Confederate returns the "slightly wounded were not included."

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*Colonel Livermore.

†In all the casualty returns given in these pages — regimental, corps, or otherwise — the mortally wounded are included with the wounded, these reports having been made at the close of the action and before the fate of the former could be ascertained. In the general aggregate the wounded who die of their injuries increase the number of "killed" sixty per cent. This may not hold true in the case of a regiment, or a larger command, in any one battle; but in studying casualty returns it should be borne in mind that the actual loss of life is always much greater than that indicated by the figures showing the number killed on the field.

The casualties in the Twelfth and other corps were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.
First Corps,	27	218	54	299*
Second Corps,	149	1,044	732	1,925†
Third Corps,	378	2,645	1,096	4,119
Fifth Corps,	69	472	159	700
Sixth Corps,	487	2,638	1,485	4,610
Eleventh Corps,	217	1,221	974	2,412
Twelfth Corps,	261	1,442	1,121	2,824‡
Cavalry,	8	35	98	141
Engineers,	1	6	1	8
Total,	1,597	9,721	5,720	17,038

* Includes losses at Fitzhugh's Crossing, below Fredericksburg, April 29 – May 2, 1863.

† Includes losses in Gibbon's Division at Fredericksburg.

‡ In connection with these figures it should be remembered that the Twelfth was the smallest corps in the army at this time, having two divisions only; each of the other corps had three divisions.

The roster of the corps at this time, and the casualties in each regiment, were as follows:

Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1–3, 1863.

Twelfth Army Corps.

Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum.

First Division.

Brig. Gen. Alpheus S. Williams.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. Joseph F. Knipe.				
5th Connecticut,	1	19	43	63
28th New York,	1	6	71	78
10th Maine,		2	1	3
46th Pennsylvania,	3	15	81	99
128th Pennsylvania,		13	199	212
Second Brigade.				
Col. Samuel Ross.				
20th Connecticut,	11	60	98	169
3rd Maryland,	11	45	29	85
123rd New York,	16	114	18	148
145th New York,	4	33	58	95

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.
Third Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Ruger.				
27th Indiana,	20	126	4	150
2nd Massachusetts,	21	110	7	138
13th New Jersey,	17	100	24	141
107th New York,	5	54	24	83
3rd Wisconsin, -	18	74	9	101
Artillery Brigade.				
Fitzhugh's (N. Y.) Battery — K,		7		7
Winegar's (N. Y.) Battery — M,	5	13	4	22
Crosby's (U. S.) Battery — F,	2	9	5	16
Second Division.				
Brig. Gen. John W. Geary.				
First Brigade.				
Col. Charles Candy.				
5th Ohio,	6	52	24	82
7th Ohio,	16	62	21	99
29th Ohio,	2	42	28	72
66th Ohio,	3	40	30	73
28th Pennsylvania,	18	61	24	103
147th Pennsylvania, -	13	57	24	94
Second Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. Thomas L. Kane.				
29th Pennsylvania,	6	13	2	21
109th Pennsylvania, -	3	17	2	22
111th Pennsylvania,	5	14	7	26
124th Pennsylvania,	1	16	3	20
125th Pennsylvania,	1	29	19	49
Third Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. George S. Greene.				
60th New York,	9	44	13	66
78th New York,	12	51	68	131
102nd New York,	10	41	39	90
137th New York,	3	15	36	54
149th New York,	15	68	103	186
Artillery Brigade.				
Knap's (Pa.) Battery — E,	1	8		9
Hampton's (Pa.) Battery — F,	2	7		9
Staff officers,		5	3	8
Total,	261	1,442	1,121	2,824

The loss in officers was severe — thirty killed and ninety-seven wounded. Of the latter five died of their wounds. Among the killed were Col. Henry J. Stainrook, One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania; Lieut. Col. John W Scott, Third Wisconsin; Lieut.-Col. Franklin Norton, One Hundred and Twenty-third New York; Major Lansford F. Chapman, Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania; and Major Cyrus Strous, Forty-sixth Pennsylvania.

The loss in prisoners — the greatest sustained by the corps in any of its battles — was occasioned by the effort made on Saturday night to reoccupy its works after the Eleventh Corps had been driven in. The enemy were already in possession of a part of these works, and owing to the darkness and confusion some regiments found themselves within the Confederate lines, where many of their men were captured before they could extricate themselves and reach a safe position.

The Confederate returns show a large loss, also, in prisoners (2,018), although Lee was the attacking party and gained possession of the field. But the frequent intermingling of the hostile lines in the forests, charges and counter charges in which the troops could not see each other, resulted in errors that enabled each side — Union as well as Confederate — to capture the bewildered groups that had become separated from their commands.

The return to Stafford was one of the saddest experiences in the history of the corps. In nearly every mess there was a comrade missing, in every camp there were tenantless huts. The empty cabins on the company strects — the log sides still standing, but with no canvas spread upon the rafters — were pathetic reminders of the men who had not returned. In one regiment a glee club, whose songs had enlivened the long winter evenings and had rang out cheerily on the march, was heard no more. And with it all there was the bitterness of defeat and a feeling that the sacrifice counted for naught.

But the temperament of the American soldier is an elastic one, and the morale of the corps was soon restored. Battalion drills, dress parades, picket duty, and the many duties incidental to the routine of camp life were resumed. General Slocum reviewed Williams's Division on the ninth and Geary's on the tenth, and as the regiments moved by in splendid style, their diminished ranks were the only evidence of the severe ordeal through which they had so

HAZEL GROVE—FIELD OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

From rise of ground occupied by Pleasanton's artillery, and looking toward Dowdall's Tavern. At right center are the woods from which Jackson's troops emerged when sweeping through the grove. The swinging gate at edge of woods on right is at the end of a lane which leads directly through the woods to the old Plank Road a few rods west of Jackson's monument.

recently passed. Five regiments were missing, however — the Twenty-eighth New York, Tenth Maine, One Hundred and Twenty-fourth, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, and One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania — their term of service having expired. The three Pennsylvania regiments had enlisted for nine months only; but within that time they had fought in two of the great historic battles of the war, and made a creditable record. The Tenth Maine — a two years' regiment — contained 246 men who had enlisted for three years, and who were held in service after the regiment went home. They were organized into a battalion of three companies, and assigned to duty as a provost guard at Slocum's headquarters.

A month had elapsed since the battle, and still the hostile armies lay idly confronting each other from either side of the river at Fredericksburg. Hooker was in no haste to move, as he needed further time in which to make good his losses and fill the vacancies caused by the departing regiments. But the Confederacy, with its limited resources, could not afford long periods of inactivity, and Lee gave orders for an offensive movement. His cavalry at this time occupied the lower end of the triangle formed by the confluence of the Rapidan and Rappahannock, where they formed an effectual screen for any advance Lee might make into the Shenandoah Valley or around his opponent's flank towards Manassas.

Hooker, suspecting that some movement of the enemy was on foot, ordered the entire cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac on a reconnoissance in the direction of Brandy Station and Culpeper. This resulted in a general engagement June ninth with Stuart's cavalry at Beverly Ford, Va., a notable event, as it was the first time in the war that this arm of the service had been engaged to any considerable extent upon a battlefield.

Before the Union cavalry started on this march to the Rappahannock General Hooker ordered that an infantry force of eight picked regiments should accompany them. In making this selection two were taken from the Twelfth Corps, the Second Massachusetts and Third Wisconsin. In the fighting that occurred, in the capture of prisoners, and other services rendered, these regiments carried off a full share of the honors, and displayed an efficiency that justified their selection.

An important result of the battle of Beverly Ford — or Fleet-

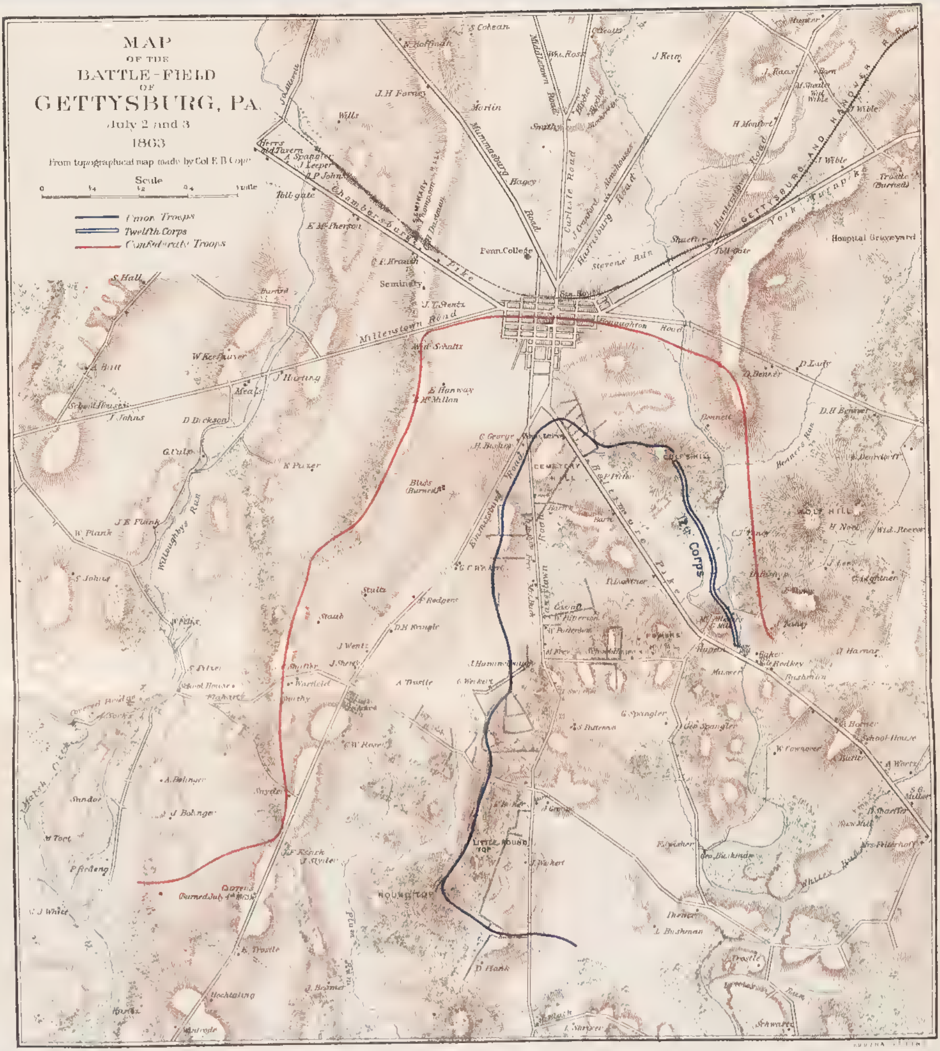
wood, as the Confederates call it — was the information gained and forwarded promptly to General Hooker: Longstreet's Corps was at Culpeper, while from the despatches captured in Stuart's camp effects it was learned that Lee's entire army had started or was under orders to move. Further than this Hooker could not learn anything definite as to the intention of his antagonist. Lee's movements, so far as disclosed, might mean an attack on Washington by way of Manassas as before; the reoccupation of the Shenandoah Valley and passes of the Blue Ridge; or an invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania. While Lee's instructions gave him the utmost freedom of command and movement, Hooker was restricted by explicit orders that he must not uncover Washington. The Army of the Potomac had to act on the defensive, move parallel with the enemy, and keep itself continually between Lee and the Capital.

Gettysburg.

The orders were issued, the Army of the Potomac was in motion again. The Twelfth Corps broke camp on June thirteenth, and, marching by Dumfries, Fairfax Court House, and Dranesville, arrived at Leesburg on the eighteenth. The long march from Dumfries to Fairfax on the fifteenth was a memorable one on account of the intense heat, several of the men falling in the road from exhaustion or smitten with sunstroke. On the eighteenth a heavy rain with a hail storm at evening added to the fatigue and discomfort of the day. The corps remained at Leesburg eight days, during which large details were made for the construction of fortifications and repairs of old breastworks already on the ground.

On the first day of its stay at this place Williams's Division was paraded at noon to witness the execution of three deserters. Two of these men belonged to the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania and one to the Thirteenth New Jersey. It was a trying scene, one in which many a veteran who had never paled in battle grew white in the face as he watched the terrible details of preparation. A regimental historian says:* "The condemned men were busy writing to friends during the whole forenoon, and with one exception seemed penitent for their crime. At twelve o'clock the corps was formed into a

* Reminiscences of the One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment, New York Volunteers. By Sergeant Henry C. Morhous. Greenwich: Journal office. 1879.


MAP
OF THE
BATTLE-FIELD
OF
GETTYSBURG, PA.
July 2 and 3
1863
Scale
Union Troops
Twelfth Corps
Confederate Troops
Chambersburg Pike
Millerstown Road
Mummasburg Road
Carlisle Road
Harrisburg Road
York Turnpike
Penn. College
Seminary
Cemetery Hill
Culp's Hill
Wolf Hill
Little Round Top
Round Top
Baltimore Pike
Emmitsburg Road
Taneytown Road
Willoughbys Run
Hospital Graveyard
12th Corps

hollow square in a large field near the camp. Generals Slocum, Williams, and Geary, with their staffs, were present. An ambulance, tightly closed, containing the criminals, made its appearance, surrounded and followed by a large guard. Immediately in front of it was an army wagon carrying the coffins which rattled a dismal dirge that must have grated painfully on the ears of the unfortunate men. On arriving at the place of execution they were helped out of the ambulance, conducted past their graves, blindfolded, and, with their hands pinioned, seated on their coffins. Three stout, robust young men, in the full flush and vigor of manhood, waiting to be coolly and deliberately shot down by their companions in arms. There were three firing parties, eight soldiers in each, with a reserve of twelve in the rear. They were marched up in front of the victims, and stationed at a distance of about three rods from them. The chaplain made an earnest and impressive prayer; the sentence of the court-martial was read, and the friends who had been standing beside them withdrew. At a signal twenty-four guns came to a ready — a moment of terrible silence — the sharp flash — the rattle of the muskets — the fall of the corpses on their coffins, and ten thousand soldiers had learned that it was a serious thing to forsake the Government they had sworn to defend. The division was then marched past the corpses, which had fallen stone dead, with five, seven and eight bullets in them respectively."

While the Army of the Potomac was lying at Leesburg and Centreville, or holding the eastern end of the passes in the Blue Ridge, Lee's forces were moving through the Shenandoah Valley and crossing the Potomac into Maryland at Shepardstown and Williamsport. When the last of the Confederate divisions had passed over the river it became evident that an invasion of Pennsylvania was intended, and so Hooker's army crossed into Maryland, and, moving on lines parallel with that of General Lee, kept itself between the enemy and Washington.

On June twenty-sixth the Twelfth Corps crossed the river at Edwards Ferry on pontoons, to the mouth of the Monocacy, near Poolesville, Md. Hooker had planned that, while his main army should engage Lee at the first favorable opportunity, Slocum with his corps and French's Division — then in garrison at Harpers Ferry — should place himself in the enemy's rear and cut his line of communication and supplies. French had over 10,000 men in his com-

mand, which, added to the Twelfth Corps, would have given Slocum an army of 20,000 strong. With this force he could have seized the river fords, taken an intrenched position in Lee's rear, and intercepted his retreat. It was a well-conceived movement, one which would have changed the character of the campaign and ensured better results. But General Halleck, Commander-in-Chief at Washington, refused Hooker's request for the use of the idle garrison at Harpers Ferry, and the Twelfth Corps, which had marched on the twenty-seventh via Point of Rocks to Knoxville, Md., in pursuance of this plan, was recalled.

General Hooker saw in this refusal something more than the mere question as to the best disposal of the forces at Harpers Ferry. He realized now that he could no longer rely on the friendly support and cordial co-operation of the War Department, so essential to his success, and asked to be relieved from command. His request was quickly granted, and on the twenty-eighth Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, of the Fifth Corps, was appointed in his place. This having been done, French's Division was immediately ordered to join Meade's army.

The Twelfth Corps, having been halted in its march to the Upper Potomac, turned its columns, and on the twenty-eighth marched to Frederick, crossing the Catoctin Range, with its beautiful scenery, on the way. In passing through Frederick the bands and field music played their liveliest tunes. At the first sound of the music the tired soldiers gave a cheer, braced up, and falling into step gave the citizens an idea of what a well-drilled corps could do in the way of fine marching.

The next day it moved to Bruceville and Taneytown, receiving at the latter place cheerful greetings from the men of the Third Corps, who were in bivouac there, and who had kindly feelings toward the red and white stars that had fought side by side with them at Chancellorsville.

On the thirtieth Slocum's two divisions crossed the Pennsylvania line and arrived at Littlestown about two o'clock. Here the dusty, hungry soldiers were refreshed by good food and drink that was freely and abundantly offered by the loyal, hospitable people. At this time a cavalry affair occurred in the outskirts of the village, and as the First Division, which had the lead that day, approached the place, skirmishers were thrown out. As "Battery M, First New

York Light Artillery, came dashing down the road and into the town, the horses frothing at the mouth and the sweat streaming from every pore by their violent exercise, the prospect of a battle was greatly heightened. A good deal of amusement was afforded the troops by a crowd of citizens who fled from the town on hearing of the approach of the enemy, and took up a position on a rail fence along the road. They seemed to fear that the rebs would prove too much for Slocum's troops."* But Gregg's cavalry soon drove Stuart's troopers back, the firing died away in the distance, and the corps halted there for the rest of the day.

On July first Slocum moved his corps to Two Taverns, as directed by orders from army headquarters, the head of his column arriving there a little after eleven o'clock. Within an hour or so the entire corps was up. This place is five miles southeast of Gettysburg. About one o'clock, while the troops were resting in the fields along the roadside, a citizen came down the Baltimore Pike from Gettysburg and reported that a battle was being fought there. Slocum immediately sent Major Guindon of his staff, with an escort of mounted orderlies, to learn the truth of the story.

The report of this citizen was the first intimation Slocum received that there was any fighting "at the place called Gettysburg." A distant sound of artillery had been heard at times, but nothing to indicate that it was anything more than some cavalry affair such as had occurred the day before at Littlestown. The wind was blowing to the north, rendering the sound of the firing very indistinct; and, furthermore, the main battle of the First Day had not commenced as yet.

General Meade's circular of instructions to corps commanders, dated July first and received by Slocum that morning, informed him that, "If the enemy assume the offensive, it was his (Meade's) intention to withdraw the army from its present position, and form line of battle" at Pipe Creek; and that "for this purpose, General Reynolds, in command of the left will withdraw the force at present at Gettysburg;" and that "General Slocum will assume command of the two corps at Hanover and Two Taverns, and withdraw them, via Union Mills." Shortly before two o'clock Slocum received a despatch from Howard informing him of the fighting at Gettysburg. Exercising the discretion allowable under such circum-

* The Thirteenth New Jersey. By Samuel Toombs. Orange: Journal. 1878.

stances, Slocum immediately ordered the Twelfth Corps forward,* although the instructions from General Meade — the only ones received from him up to this time that day — indicated a different course.

General Geary, whose division had the lead, states in his official report that his column started at two p. m. and advanced rapidly on the road to the town; and General Williams, in his report, says that when the information of the engagement was received his division moved rapidly up the pike. While on the road to the front Slocum met his staff officer who was returning. Major Guindon confirmed the citizen's story, and informed Slocum that he had met Generals Hancock and Howard, both of whom sent an urgent request that the Twelfth Corps push forward as fast as possible.† These calls were unnecessary, however, as Slocum's men were already swinging along the road to Gettysburg at a most rapid gait, and had been for some time. Just before reaching Rock Creek, in the southern vicinity of the town, Slocum sent the following despatch:

July 1, 1863 — 3:35 p. m.

GENERAL HANCOCK OR GENERAL HOWARD:

I am moving the Twelfth Corps so as to come in about one mile to the right of Gettysburg.

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General.

On arriving at Rock Creek, Slocum with the First Division turned off to the right and following a crossroad for over a mile formed line at the base of Wolf Hill, on top of which some Confederate mounted troops were visible in the woods. The Twenty-seventh Indiana deployed skirmishers, before whose advance the enemy slowly retired. At this time information was received that the Union forces had withdrawn to the east side of the town, whereupon Slocum ordered Williams's Division back to the Baltimore Pike, and, going to Cemetery Hill himself, assumed command of the field by right of seniority. In the meanwhile the Second Divi-

* In a conversation with Mr. Snyder, the man who kept the hotel at Two Taverns, he told the writer that Slocum and his staff were at dinner in the hotel when the orderly came in with Howard's despatch; that Slocum, as soon as he read it, left the table quickly without finishing his meal and "in ten minutes they were all gone."

† New York at Gettysburg. By Lieut. Col. William F. Fox. Albany: J. B. Lyon Company. 1900.

PORTION OF GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD,—SECOND DAY.

From front of statue looking northerly to village of Gettysburg. Part of Stevens' Battery in foreground; slope of East Cemetery Hill on extreme left in background, with monument of 41st New York on left of lane at foot of hill; outline of South Mountain in the horizon.

sion, which had the advance of the corps, arrived at Cemetery Hill at four p. m. at the time when the First and Eleventh Corps were falling back through the town and occupying this position. Geary reported to Hancock who ordered him to occupy with his division "the high ground to the right of and near Round Top Mountain." Geary's report states that "at five p. m. this movement was consummated," with two of his regiments — Fifth Ohio and One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania — occupying Little Round Top; and that the cavalry were already skirmishing in front of his position. The entire division was not here at this time, Kane's Brigade having been detached by General Slocum and placed in reserve near the Baltimore Turnpike, at the rear of Cemetery Hill. The battle of the First Day had ended. All was quiet and the men of the Twelfth Corps slept upon their arms, ready for whatever might betide them on the morrow.

Friday, July second, and the second day of the battle of Gettysburg. At five a. m. Geary's Division, having been ordered to rejoin its corps, went into position in the woods on Culp's Hill, where this corps (the Twelfth) held the right of the army. Its line connected on the left with Wadsworth's Division of the First Corps, and extended thence to the right along the wooded ridge, then down into the swale near Rock Creek, and up onto McAllister's Hill, where it terminated at the point of the "fish hook," to which the shape of the Union line has been so often and aptly compared. The Second Division held the left, and the First Division the right of the corps. General Williams was in command, Slocum being in charge of the right wing of the army, with his headquarters on Powers Hill, in rear of the Baltimore Pike. The men immediately commenced the construction of breastworks, for which the woods and rocky condition of the ground furnished ample material. Profiting by their experience at Chancellorsville the troops constructed works of a substantial character.

Early in the day Lockwood's Brigade, composed of the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York, First Maryland (P H. B.*), and First Maryland (E. S.†), having joined the army, was assigned to Williams's Division, where it reported for duty.

General Meade, after examining a part of the field on the morn-

* First Maryland, Potomac Home Brigade.

† First Maryland, Eastern Shore. This regiment did not arrive until the morning of the third.

ing of the second, decided to take the offensive. He issued an order at nine-thirty a. m., directing General Slocum, who was in command of the Twelfth and Fifth Corps, to make arrangements to move forward with these troops and attack the enemy on his front. Meade's instructions were that this attack should be made by the Twelfth, supported by the Fifth, and that he would give the order to move as soon as he received definite information of the approach of the Sixth Corps, which would be ordered "to co-operate in the attack." But the topography of the field in Slocum's front, with its rocky, uneven surface, woods, hills and streams, was such that there was little promise of success for an assault in that quarter. General Slocum, after a careful examination of the ground, reported unfavorably on the plan, an opinion in which General Warren, the chief engineer of the army, concurred. The movement was abandoned.

The forenoon passed in comparative quiet, with no firing except that of the corps skirmishers, who were smartly engaged near the Bonaughtown road. In the afternoon the Confederate artillery of Ewell's Corps took a position on Benner's Hill, on the opposite side of Rock Creek, whence a heavy fire was directed against the Twelfth Corps line and Cemetery Hill. This met with a spirited and successful reply from the Union artillery, in which Knap's and Muhlenberg's batteries of the Twelfth Corps sustained a creditable part.

At six p. m. orders came from General Meade for the Twelfth Corps to vacate its position and move to the left of the army, where General Sickles, who was making a desperate fight against overpowering numbers, was calling for reinforcements. It was only upon "Slocum's resolute insistence" that Greene's Brigade was permitted to remain, a wise precaution that "prevented Meade's losing the battle of Gettysburg." *

The First Division having arrived at the scene of action near Little Round Top, Lockwood, whose brigade had the advance, deployed his line, occupied a piece of woods, from which the enemy retreated, and then pushing boldly to the front in fine style recaptured three pieces of artillery. General Ruger, now in command of the First Division temporarily, seized the woods on Lock-

* Gen. O. O. Howard's Memorial Address before Rankin Post, No. 10, G. A. R., at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, April 29, 1894.

STATUE AND LANDSCAPE.

View from knoll 200 yards northeasterly from statue. Breastworks of Wadsworth's Division, First Corps, in right foreground; cannon, lunettes, and monument of Stevens' Battery near statue; Citizens Cemetery in right background.

wood's left, the Confederates retiring before his advance and making but little resistance. The attack on the Union left having been successfully repulsed, Meade ordered the Twelfth Corps to return to its position on the right. But in the meantime events, the most astonishing and important on all that battlefield, had been occurring there.

When the Twelfth Corps filed out of its works that evening pursuant to Meade's order, a strong force of the enemy — Johnson's Division of Ewell's Corps — was moving forward at that very time through the woods on the opposite side of Rock Creek to attack this portion of the Union line. Greene's Brigade of five New York regiments, numbering 1,350, all told, alone remained, and on this small command devolved the task hitherto assigned to an army corps. The left of their line connected with Wadsworth's Division, First Corps, which held the intrenchments on the western slope of the hill; on the right was the long line of empty breastworks which had just been vacated. Greene had received orders to reoccupy these entire works with the brigade, by thinning and lengthening his line. The One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York, Col. David Ireland, moved accordingly into the adjoining works, which had been held by Kane's Brigade, and formed in single line, "one man deep;" but before any further movement could be made Johnson's attack commenced along the entire front.

From behind their works Greene's men delivered a deadly fire that forced their assailants to seek safety in the woods at the base of the hill. The Confederates made repeated efforts to carry the works, but without success. Nightfall added to the gloom of the thick forest which covered the hill from its base to the breastworks on its summit, where the blazing lines of musketry marked the position of the combatants.

The left of Johnson's line was held by Steuart's* Brigade, which, overlapping Greene's right, entered the deserted intrenchments of Williams's Division and occupied them without opposition. From this vantage ground Steuart delivered a flank fire that, combined with his attack in front, forced Ireland's regiment to vacate the works. But Ireland withdrew his right to the rear, and, under cover of the darkness, formed a line perpendicular to the breastworks he had been occupying. Greene received some reinforcements now — 350 men from Wadsworth and 475 from the Eleventh Corps — and was able to maintain his ground.

* There were three Confederate generals of this name, but each spelled it differently, Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, the cavalry leader; Gen. Geo. H. Steuart, of Ewell's corps; and Gen. Alex. P.

The sturdy defense of Culp's Hill by Greene's Brigade after the corps had gone was one of the most remarkable achievements at Gettysburg. The Sixtieth New York, Col. Abel Godard, captured two stands of colors; and some of the men, leaping the breastworks, took several of the enemy prisoners, together with their flags. Colonel Lane, of the One Hundred and Second, was wounded, after which the command devolved on Capt. Lewis R. Stegman. The heaviest loss fell on the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, which, owing to its exposed flank, suffered severely, losing 137 of its number, including four officers killed. The flag of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth received eighty-one bullets through its folds and seven in its staff, the color sergeant splicing it and replacing it on the works as often as it fell; a Confederate soldier who attempted to seize it went down, riddled with bullets. The Seventy-eighth, under Lieutenant-Colonel von Hammerstein, was deployed on the skirmish line at the foot of the hill, where its sturdy resistance to Johnson's advance gave General Greene time to prepare for the impending assault.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock, Johnson's troops, wearied with their repeated assaults in the darkness, abandoned their task and waited until daylight. Greene still held his original line; but on his right the Confederates were in possession of the intrenchments thrown up by Kane's Brigade, and, farther on, the works constructed by Williams's Division. There was nothing to prevent Steuart's Confederate Brigade marching straight ahead through the woods to the Baltimore Pike, about 400 yards distant, where it would have been in the rear of the Union army, in possession of its supply trains and reserve artillery, and on its proper line of retreat.

It was past midnight when the tired, weary troops of the Twelfth Corps, returning from their expedition to the left of the army, approached Culp's Hill for the purpose of reoccupying their intrenchments. The First Division was still under command of General Ruger, and with creditable caution he ordered skirmishers thrown forward to ascertain whether the enemy held any part of his breastworks. The presence of the Confederates in the works was soon discovered. At Spangler's Spring some of the Twelfth Corps men, under cover of the darkness, filled their canteens in company with the Confederates, who thronged that spot for water and answered unsuspectingly the customary questions as to their respec-

LINE OF GREENE'S BRIGADE, CULP'S HILL.

tive regiments. The works on the extreme right, which were separated from the southeast base of Culp's Hill by an open swale, were not occupied by the enemy, and so a part of Ruger's troops resumed possession of that part of the line.

Geary's two brigades — Kane's and Candy's — returned, also, soon after Ruger's arrival. On entering the woods Kane's advance encountered a brisk fire, which was, at first, supposed to come from Greene's command. Without returning the fire Geary formed his line in silence and secrecy at right angles to Greene's, and extending from Greene's right to the Baltimore Pike. Kane's Brigade connected with Greene and relieved the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York, which had been holding the refused part of the line. Ruger formed his three brigades in two lines, in the open fields between the Baltimore Pike and his breastworks. By midnight safety was restored, and Johnson's opportunity to seize the Baltimore Pike was gone. General Williams placed twenty-six cannon in position behind his infantry, within 600 to 800 yards of the woods which Johnson's troops were occupying, and then gave orders to attack at daylight, when, as General Williams phrased it, "From these hills back of us we will shell hell out of them." *

Promptly at daybreak, before the gray light of early morning had fairly displaced the shadows of the night, the artillery of the Twelfth Corps opened fire on Johnson's troops, who were within the cover of the woods. They were already in line and about to attack when this artillery fire anticipated their movement. For fifteen minutes the Union batteries sent their projectiles crashing through the woods and bursting in the enemy's lines. Johnson had no artillery with which to make reply. He was unable to bring any with him owing to the hills, valleys, woods, rocks and streams over which he passed. But the artillery fire was only a preliminary to the infantry attack of the Twelfth Corps, which immediately followed. Johnson opened fire and advanced at the same time, both sides assuming the offensive simultaneously.

Johnson had been reinforced during the night by three brigades of Ewell's Corps. He now had seven brigades, two of which had not been in action since they came upon the field. Opposed to him were the six brigades of the Twelfth Corps, and Shaler's Brigade of the Sixth, which reinforced Geary at eight forty-five a. m. John-

* Brown's History of the Twenty-seventh Indiana.

son's forces numbered about 9,600; those opposed to him about 11,200, all told.

This infantry attack of the Twelfth Corps to regain possession of its intrenchments commenced at daylight, soon after the artillery opened, and was made by the three brigades of Geary's Division, supported by a strong demonstration on the part of Ruger's artillery and infantry. One of Geary's brigades — Greene's — as has been shown, had not lost possession of its works, and it joined in the fierce musketry fire that ensued. The fire was close and deadly, while the echoing of the woods increased the appalling roar.

At seven a. m., Lockwood's Brigade, of the First Division, was sent to Geary's support. The One Hundred and Fiftieth New York of this brigade fired 150 rounds per man, the large number of dead in their front attesting the effectiveness of their fire. Johnson's troops, unable to gain ground, redoubled their efforts, upon which, in answer to Geary's call for aid, Shaler's Brigade of the Sixth Corps came to his assistance. At the same time, the First Division was pressing Johnson's troops actively and preventing them from turning Geary's right. The corps artillery, firing over the heads of the infantry, forced the Confederates to keep well within the cover of the stolen intrenchments, while every attempt to advance Johnson's left was checked by the effective musketry of some regiments of McDougall's Brigade.

Colgrove's Brigade, of the First Division, held the extreme right of the Union line, occupying the works beyond the swale, which Johnson's troops, in the darkness of the previous night, failed to occupy. During the course of the fighting Colgrove made an attempt with two regiments to effect a lodgment on the opposite side of the swale, and ordered the Second Massachusetts and Twenty-seventh Indiana forward for that purpose. These veteran regiments charged on a double-quick in face of a terrible musketry fire. The Second secured a position in the opposite woods, where for awhile it delivered an effective fire; the Twenty-seventh, crossing the swale obliquely, advanced to a position in front of the woods and close to the enemy's line from which it commenced firing. Both regiments suffered severely in crossing this piece of open ground, and as it became apparent that they could accomplish nothing in the face of the strong force that hitherto had been concealed by the woods and rocks, Colgrove sent orders for them to retire to their original posi-

SWALE NEAR SPANGLER'S SPRING.

From woods back of 2d Mass. monument, which appears in left foreground. The 27th Indiana monument is partly covered by leaning tree in center of picture; a marker of the 27th is shown in the swale, slightly to the right of the 2d Mass. monument and under branch of a tree. The stone wall on the opposite side of the field marks a portion of the

tions, which was done in good order. The Confederates attempted to follow, but met with such a hot fire from the rest of the brigade that they fell back to cover. These two regiments together carried 659 officers and men into this action, of whom 246 were killed or wounded within a few minutes. They encountered troops belonging to Walker's and Smith's Virginia brigades, the Forty-ninth Virginia losing two-fifths of its number in the affair.

Before making the charge it was apparent to every officer and man in the two Union regiments that some one had blundered, and that there was some misunderstanding in the transmission of the order. Still, both regiments moved forward with cheers as promptly as if they were certain of success. When Colonel Mudge, of the Second Massachusetts, received the word he remarked to some of his officers, "It is murder; but it is the order."* He fell dead before he had gone ten rods. The Second lost five color bearers in the charge.

During the morning the Thirteenth New Jersey and Twenty-seventh Indiana were annoyed by some Confederate sharpshooters who occupied the Taney house, an old stone building, on the farther side of Rock Creek. Battery M, First New York Light Artillery, which was in position near the Baltimore Pike, trained one of its rifled guns on the house. With a few well-aimed percussion shells it soon made the building untenable, killing and wounding some of the vedettes who occupied it.

About ten o'clock Johnson made a strong, determined attack, led by Steuart's Brigade. It was repulsed, mainly by Kane's Brigade, under Col. George A. Cobham, a small command numbering about 690, all told, but advantageously placed. The famous "Stonewall" Brigade recoiled also from the sheets of deadly flame that blazed from Greene's breastworks, many of the men displaying signals of surrender and crawling into the works to escape the terrible, pitiless fire. Greene's intrenchments at this time were held by Candy's (Union) Brigade, and in front of the Seventh Ohio seventy-eight of the enemy, including seven officers, advanced and surrendered. Maj. B. W. Leigh, General Johnson's chief of staff and adjutant-general, endeavored gallantly to stop this surrender and to rally his men; but he fell dead a short distance in front of the rifles of the

* History of the Second Massachusetts. By Chaplain A. H. Quint. Boston: James P. Walker. 1867.

Seventh Ohio. This gallant regiment, later in the battle, captured the flag of the Fourth Virginia.*

The men of Geary's Division, who, during all these hours, had been bravely fighting and watching for the proper opportunity, noted eagerly the failure of this last assault, and springing forward with loud cheers followed up their advantage. The whole line pushed ahead and drove the Confederates out of the lost works. The "Red Stars" of the First Division swept forward at the same time, and McDougall's Brigade recovered the line of intrenchments in its front which its men had labored so industriously to build, but which had sheltered the enemy instead of themselves. At eleven a. m., the Twelfth Corps was in full possession of its original line. Johnson's troops withdrew to Rock Creek, leaving a strong picket line in their front.

It was a remarkable fight. For seven hours the unremitting roar of the rifles continued along the front of the Twelfth Corps, varied at times by heavier crashes where some fresh regiment relieving another opened with a full volley. As fast as regiments expended their ammunition they were relieved, went to the rear, cleaned their rifles, refilled their cartridge boxes, and then resumed their place in line with loud cheers. It was the longest continuous fight of any made at Gettysburg. General Meade after listening to the incessant musketry around Culp's Hill thought that Geary was expending ammunition unnecessarily, and notified General Slocum to that effect. Meade, however, expressed satisfaction when Slocum explained the situation. Some of Geary's regiments fired 160 rounds. There were 3,702 enlisted men of this division on the field; they expended in this particular fight on July third 277,000 rounds of ammunition.

But the best evidence that there was no waste of powder was the ground itself when the fight was over. At no place on the field of Gettysburg did the dead lie thicker than along the front of Geary's Division. Johnson sustained a loss of 2,015, not including the casualties in Daniel's and O'Neal's brigades. These two commands

* Col. Creighton (7th Ohio), in his report, says that his regiment captured the flag of the 14th Virginia,— evidently an error, as that regiment was not on that part of the field. It was in Pickett's Division, and its flag was captured by the 14th Conn. during Longstreet's assault the next day. Maj. Ellis of the 14th Conn., in his official report, makes an error, a curious one in this case, by describing the captured flag as that of the 4th Va., the regiment which fought at Culp's Hill.

lost 1,612 at Gettysburg; but they were engaged in the battle of the first day, also, and the casualties are not reported separately.

In remarkable contrast are the comparatively small losses of the Twelfth Corps, whose casualties are reported at 1,156, of which seventy-four occurred in Shaler's Brigade; and the Twelfth Corps was the attacking line, aside from Greene's position. But in previous battles — at Cedar Mountain, Antietam, and Chancellorsville — it had gone on record as inflicting a greater loss than it received.

The effect of the musketry on the forest was visible for many years in the dead and dying trees, few of which survived the countless scars inflicted during this storm of bullets and cannon shots.

In this fight on Culp's Hill the First Maryland (Confederate) of Steuart's Brigade, fought with the First Maryland of Lockwood's Brigade. Kinsmen and neighbors were arrayed against each other, and their mingled dead strewed the ground thickly where this bloody scene of civil war was enacted.

The battle on Culp's Hill had now practically ended, and quiet prevailed along that portion of the lines. Neither was there any sound of activity from the left or centre. But at one o'clock the silence was broken by the memorable cannonade which opened at that time. In this fierce artillery duel the Confederates employed 138 guns, to which General Hunt, the Union chief of artillery, replied with seventy-seven, that being all he could use on his interior line. Owing to the sharp curve in Meade's line of battle the position of the Twelfth Corps was now hazardous in the extreme, as most of the Confederate shot that overreached Cemetery Hill struck it in reverse and came crashing into its works, inflicting serious losses among these troops despite the woods, breastworks, and huge rocks among which the men sought protection from the bursting shells. This prolonged artillery fire, with its trying scenes, was followed by the grand infantry assault of Pettigrew and Pickett's divisions, during which the men of the Twelfth Corps listened in almost breathless suspense to the terrible uproar, for they realized full well what defeat would mean to them. Then came the sound of prolonged Union cheers, coming nearer and nearer, as regiment after regiment raised the shout of victory, and the men with the star badges sent back an echoing cry in loud acknowledgment of the good work that had been done by the brave fellows who wore the ace of clubs upon their caps.

While this great infantry assault was in progress the cavalry of each army was waging a desperate battle on the Rummel farm, three miles east of Gettysburg, between the York and Hanover roads. General Ruger, learning that General Gregg, the Union cavalry leader, was heavily pressed, sent two infantry regiments of the First Division to his assistance — the Thirteenth New Jersey and One Hundred and Seventh New York. But this reinforcement did not arrive in time to take part in the battle, and so, after bivouacking on the field, these troops returned to Culp's Hill the next morning.

Although the troops did not know it, the battle of Gettysburg was over. But there was victory in the air. During the night of the third the Confederate general, Ewell, abandoning his lines in front of Culp's Hill, withdrew his entire corps to Seminary Ridge, where he formed on either side of the Chambersburg Pike, his troops evacuating the town also.

On the next day, Saturday, July fourth, both armies remained quietly within their lines. The Confederates contracted their front and intrenched their position strongly throughout its entire length. In each army there was an ignorance of the condition and strength of its opponent; each awaited with apprehension a further attack. During the morning General Slocum, taking Ruger's Brigade with him, moved around the right of the army to the Hanover Road, and thence into and through the town, after which these troops returned to their former position at Culp's Hill. The town, around which there had been so much hard fighting, remained during the fourth unoccupied by the troops of either army, except some vedettes of the Eleventh Corps who pushed out a short distance from Cemetery Hill. During the night of the fourth General Lee withdrew his forces and started on his retreat to the Potomac, where he arrived — at Williamsport — during the afternoon of the sixth and morning of the seventh. Here he was delayed a week by a flood in the river, but on the fourteenth his army recrossed the river in safety and wended its way across the Blue Ridge.

Pursuit was commenced by the Union cavalry on the fifth, the infantry moving soon after; but the movement could not be called a rapid or a vigorous one. Instead of following Lee by the roads on which he retreated, Meade moved his army by a longer and circuitous route. He did not arrive within striking distance of his

adversary until the eleventh, thereby allowing Lee four days in which to select a defensive line and fortify it. A council of war, held on the twelfth, decided that it was not advisable to attack, as Lee had intrenched himself in a strong position. After some further delay General Meade gave orders for an assault on the morning of the fourteenth; but the river having fallen sufficiently in the meantime, General Lee had succeeded in laying his pontoons and effecting a crossing with his entire army.

The itinerary of the Twelfth Corps while moving with the army in its pursuit of Lee was as follows:

July 5.— After spending some hours in burying the dead it left Gettysburg at one p. m. and marched to Littlestown, Pa., its advance arriving there at five-thirty p. m. Remained there the next day awaiting orders.

July 7.— Starting at four a. m., moved by way of Taneytown (Md.), Middleburg and Woodsborough to Monocacy, near Frederick City, a march of twenty-nine miles in the rain, although, as Slocum says in his report, "many of the men were destitute of shoes, and all greatly fatigued by the labor and anxiety of a severely contested battle, as well as by the heavy marches which had preceded it."

July 8.— Moved through Frederick, via Middletown and Burkettsville, to Crampton's Gap and encamped for the night, one brigade of Williams's Division occupying the summit of the pass, and relieving a regiment of the Third Corps. Another rainy day. Near Middletown the troops passed a roadside tree on which was hanging the half naked body of a man who had been arrested as a spy and promptly executed.

July 9.— Started at five a. m. and advanced to Rohrersville, arriving there at noon.

July 10.— Passed through Keedysville, crossed the battlefield of Antietam, and reached Bakersville at eleven a. m., the cavalry pickets of the enemy retiring as the corps advanced. Formed line of battle, threw up some slight breastworks, and sent forward a strong force of pickets.

July 11.— Advanced to Fair Play, formed line of battle, and threw out skirmishers. The cavalry pickets of the enemy in plain view.

July 12.— In front of the enemy's position at Williamsport,

near Saint James's College. Began the construction of breastworks. Advanced the picket line, which resulted in some slight skirmishing. Enemy held a strong intrenched position. The men of the Twelfth Corps expecting and all ready to make an assault.

July 13.— Still awaiting the order to attack the enemy's works and drive him into the river. Lively skirmishing by the corps pickets about five p. m.

July 14.— A reconnaissance in force ordered for seven a. m. by General Meade, all the troops to be "under arms in readiness for a general engagement." Williams's Division advanced to open the fight. The enemy's intrenchments were deserted. Lee's army had crossed the river. The Gettysburg campaign was ended.

Strength and Losses.

The effective strength of Meade's army at Gettysburg was 85,000. Lee's army numbered 71,000, present on the field, including all arms of the service. The losses were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Total.
Union,	3,155	14,529	5,365	23,049
Confederate,	2,592	12,709	5,150	20,351

But the Confederate casualty lists did not include the slightly wounded; and the returns from some commands were only partial or missing entirely.

The Twelfth Corps

The roster of the Twelfth Corps at Gettysburg, with the losses in each regiment, was officially reported as follows:

Battle of Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863.

Twelfth Army Corps.

Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum.

First Division.

Brig. Gen. Alpheus S. Williams.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.				
Col. Archibald L. MacDougall.				
5th Connecticut,		2	5	7
20th Connecticut,	5	22	1	28
3rd Maryland,	1	7		8
123rd New York,	3	10	1	14
145th New York,	1	9		10
46th Pennsylvania,	2	10	1	13
Second Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. Henry H. Lockwood.				
1st Maryland, P. H. B.,	23	80	1	104
1st Maryland, E. S.,	5	18	2	25
150th New York,	7	23	15	45
Third Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Ruger.				
27th Indiana,	23	86	1	110
2nd Massachusetts,	23	109	4	136
13th New Jersey,	1	20		21
107th New York,		2		2
3rd Wisconsin,	2	8		10

Second Division.

Brig. Gen. John W. Geary.

First Brigade.				
Col. Charles Candy.				
5th Ohio,	2	16		18
7th Ohio,	1	17		18
29th Ohio,	7	31		38
66th Ohio,		17		17
28th Pennsylvania,	3	23	2	28
147th Pennsylvania,	5	15		20

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate.
Second Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. Thomas L. Kane.				
29th Pennsylvania,	15	43	8	66
109th Pennsylvania,	3	6	1	10
111th Pennsylvania,	5	17		22
Third Brigade.				
Brig. Gen. George S. Greene.				
60th New York,	11	41		52
78th New York,	6	21	3	30
102nd New York,	4	17	8	29
137th New York,	40	87	10	137
149th New York,	6	46	3	55
Artillery Brigade,		9		9
Total,	204	812	66	1,082

The Tenth Maine battalion of four companies, on duty as a provost guard at corps headquarters, reported no casualties. The number carried into action by each regiment, so far as officially reported, was:

5th Connecticut,	221
20th Connecticut,	321
3rd Maryland,	290
123rd New York,	495
145th New York,	245
46th Pennsylvania,	262
107th New York,	319
3rd Wisconsin,	246
7th Ohio,	278
109th Pennsylvania,	149
60th New York,	271
78th New York,	200
150th New York,	579
27th Indiana,	339
2nd Massachusetts,	320
13th New Jersey,	347
102nd New York,	248
137th New York,	456
149th New York,	319

The comparatively small loss in most of the regiments was due to the small number of men in their depleted ranks; also, to the protection of the breastworks, the heavy tree growth under cover of which they fought, and the superior discipline of the corps. If heroic figures are wanted they will be found in the casualty lists of their opponents.

Geary's Division captured three stands of colors, one of them the battle flag of the famous "Stonewall" Brigade, and over 500 prisoners, not including 600 wounded who were left lying in front of the works. Geary turned over to his division ordnance officer 2,000 small arms which Johnson's troops had left upon the field.

The Return to Virginia.

Lee's army having escaped, General Meade moved his forces down the river to Harpers Ferry and Berlin, where there were better facilities for crossing; and because, as he stated, of "the difficulty of supplying the army in the Valley of the Shenandoah, owing to the destruction of railroad."

The Twelfth Corps left its intrenchments at Williamsport on July fifteenth, and moved, via Sharpsburg and the Antietam Iron Works, to Pleasant Valley, near Sandy Hook, where it encamped the next two days. On the nineteenth the corps crossed the Potomac on a pontoon bridge at Harpers Ferry, some of the regiments singing the John Brown song, and started on a march which lasted several days, ending at the Rappahannock River on the thirty-first.

The route lay through Loudoun Valley, Thoroughfare Gap, and the little villages of Hillsborough, Snickersville, Upperville, Somerset Mills, Markham, Piedmont, Linden, Rectortown, White Plains, Hay Market, Greenwich, Catlett's Station, and Warrenton Junction. The men traveled 226 miles after leaving Gettysburg, the roads in places being in bad condition, and the weather at times excessively warm. Excepting a halt of two days near Snicker's Gap —twenty-first and twenty-second— and five days at Warrenton Junction, the column covered from twenty-one to twenty-three miles each day. Still, the march was not a severe one, as the corps broke camp each morning at sunrise, which enabled them to travel much of the distance in the cool of the day. The route, for the greater

part, lay through a fertile, pleasant country with fine mountain scenery at times, while the profusion of berries and other fruit that grew along the road furnished a healthful and grateful addition to the plain rations of salt pork and hardtack. During the halt at noon some of the generals did not disdain to go berry picking, and many of the soldiers took this opportunity to fill their tin cups with large ripe blackberries to supplement their evening meal.

As the troops neared Manassas Gap and other passes in the Blue Ridge there were sounds of fighting ahead, and forming line of battle at such times the men nerved themselves in expectation of going into battle; but no general engagement occurred, and the corps resumed its march on each occasion without firing a shot. There was no straggling or disorder. At one place a complaint was made to General Geary that two soldiers of his division had entered a woman's house and carried off bed quilts, wearing apparel, and other articles not recognized in the regulations for foraging, an infraction of corps discipline which was promptly punished by drumming the offenders out of camp to the tune of the Rogue's March, and dismissing them from the service in disgrace.*

On arriving at the Rappahannock the corps crossed at Kelly's Ford, going into camp on the south side of the river. The next day — August first — the cavalry of both armies were engaged near by, and the Twelfth Corps was ordered under arms in expectation of a battle, as the Army of the Potomac had again reached the enemy's line of defense. But on the second the troops withdrew to the north side, the pontoon bridge was taken up, and the corps went into camp near the ford, with a part of the Second Division stationed at Ellis's Ford, farther down the stream.

On August thirteenth Slocum received the following despatch from General Humphreys, Meade's chief of staff: "I am instructed by the major-general commanding to inform you that he is called to Washington, and that he deems it advisable that you should be at these headquarters until he returns. He leaves at twelve m." As Slocum was the senior general in the Army of the Potomac this despatch placed him virtually in temporary command, although nothing happened in the meanwhile that made it necessary for him to exercise the duties of that position. This incident need not be

* Memoirs of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York Volunteers. By Capt. George K. Collins. Syracuse, N. Y. 1891.

mentioned here, were it not for its significance in relation to events and appointments which followed soon after in connection with the history of his corps, when he was forced to serve in a subordinate position incompatible with his rank and previous service.

The enforcement of the military draft in New York had been suspended by the riotous opposition of a mob which held possession of the city for several days in July. The War Department having decided to proceed with the conscription made secret arrangements to send 10,000 veteran troops from the Army of the Potomac to the assistance of the provost marshals in New York and other cities of that State. On August 15, 1863, Slocum received an order from Meade containing, with other instructions in the matter, the following paragraph:

"The commanding general directs that the following regiments of your command proceed to Alexandria to-morrow, under the command of Brig. Gen. T. H. Ruger, for service, with the nature of which you are acquainted, viz.: Second Massachusetts, Third Wisconsin, Twenty-seventh Indiana, and Fifth, Seventh, Twenty-ninth, and Sixty-sixth Ohio regiments. You will please also send the One Hundred and Seventh New York regiment if you think it advisable to do so."

But no New York troops were sent on this expedition, although they would have gladly done all that any other regiments could do to punish the rioters whose acts had cast a stain on the loyal record of the Empire State. Ten regiments and a battery from other corps were also ordered to report to General Ruger for this same duty. Another provisional command under General Ayres, composed of regular troops and the Vermont Brigade, with some cavalry and artillery, was sent to New York at this time.

The regiments designated marched to Rappahannock Station the next day, whence they proceeded by rail to Alexandria, all of them in utter ignorance of their destination and the peculiar service for which they had been detached. After a delay of two days they embarked on ocean transports, where they received some information regarding the movement and the duties they were expected to perform. After a short sea voyage the advance arrived in New York on the twenty-second, encamping in City Hall Park, on the Battery, at Governor's Island and in Brooklyn, while some regiments were sent to Albany, Troy, and other cities on the Hudson.

The riotous element, overawed by the presence of these battle-tried veterans, made no hostile demonstration, and the conscription having been completed the troops returned to their camp grounds on the Rappahannock. Their stay in New York had lasted two weeks or more, varying some according to the arrival and departure of the different regiments. It proved to be a pleasant excursion in which the soldiers took keen delight, many of them seeing for the first time the ocean and the attractions of the great metropolis. The returning regiments of the Twelfth Corps arrived at Kelly's Ford on the evening of September twelfth, some of them having been absent twenty-seven days.

The Confederate army had retired to the south side of the Rapidan, where it now occupied intrenched positions commanding the various fords. General Meade, on August fifteenth, ordered his forces across the Rappahannock and occupied the territory between these two rivers. On the sixteenth the Twelfth Corps crossed at Kelly's Ford and marched to Stevensburg, a half-deserted village about four miles from Brandy Station, the main army encamping at Culpeper and in its vicinity. The next day the corps moved to Raccoon Ford, on the Rapidan, relieving the cavalry pickets on duty there, after which Slocum's troops picketed the river from Somerville Ford to Stringfellow's Ford. The greater part of the corps, however, remained at Raccoon Ford.

The Rapidan at these upper fords is narrow, not over eighty yards wide. The Confederates held their side in strong force, each crossing being covered by lines of rifle pits, and, at some points, by earthworks in which artillery was placed. While the Union cavalry held the north bank the picket firing was continuous, with considerable cannonading, the troopers using their carbines freely, to which the enemy made energetic reply. This interchange of shots was kept up for a time after the Twelfth Corps occupied the line. But veteran infantrymen always deprecated this noisy, ineffective style of fighting, and after two days or so the corps pickets succeeded in arranging a truce with their opponents in which it was agreed that all unnecessary firing should be discountenanced by both sides. A better feeling soon prevailed; good-natured banter or conversation was indulged in; newspapers were exchanged; tea or coffee was traded for tobacco; and on one occasion the Johnnies went so far in their humorous courtesy as to turn out their guard and salute the

Union commander of the picket when he appeared on the opposite bank. Unfortunately this arrangement did not prevail at all the fords, and at some points the continuous firing resulted in unnecessary casualties.

While here the troops in each division were ordered out repeatedly to witness the execution of deserters. Two men in Geary's Division, belonging to the Seventy-eighth New York, were "shot to death by musketry" for the crime of desertion. This execution was described as a sickening spectacle, because of the poor aim and nervous bungling of the firing party. The unfortunate men were not killed by the volley, whereupon the reserve had to be brought forward to finish the gruesome work. Williams's Division was paraded on the eighteenth to attend the execution of a soldier in the Third Maryland, a mere lad, twenty years old; and again on the twenty-fifth, when a man from the One Hundred and Forty-fifth New York was marched out to meet the same fate.

The prolonged inactivity * of the Army of the Potomac enabled General Lee to send Hood's and McLaws's divisions of Longstreet's Corps to Tennessee, where they joined Bragg's army in time to render effective service in the battle of Chickamauga, and Pickett's Division to the defenses of Richmond. General Meade's army now outnumbered Lee's so greatly that the War Department decided to transfer a portion of this superfluous force to Chattanooga as a reinforcement to Rosecrans's beleaguered forces.† As the Army of the Cumberland was the only one of the Union armies that displayed any activity at this time, it seemed advisable to send there some of the troops that were idling away their time on the Rappahannock.

The Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were selected for this purpose, and placed under command of General Hooker with orders to proceed immediately to the seat of war in Tennessee. As Slocum's

* President Lincoln's desire that the army should undertake some offensive movement at this time is evident from his letters to Halleck, which were forwarded to Meade. He sent, also, urgent requests to that effect. [See Official Records, Vol. XXIX, part II, pp. 187 and 207.]

In reply to Meade's explanations that he had no information as to the location and numbers of the enemy, Halleck sent a despatch — "When King Joseph wrote to Napoleon that he could not ascertain the position and strength of the enemy's army the Emperor replied: 'Attack him and you will soon find out.'" [Official Records, Vol. XXIX, part II, p. 278.]

† The strength of Meade's army on October tenth, after the withdrawal of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, was officially reported by him as 80,789, present for duty. Lee's army, in the absence of Longstreet's Corps, was officially reported at 48,067, present for duty.

relations with Hooker had been far from cordial since the battle of Chancellorsville, he now felt impelled to address the following letter to the President:

His Excellency Abraham Lincoln,

President of the United States:

Sir. — I have just been informed that I have been placed under command of Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker. My opinion of General Hooker, both as an officer and a gentleman, is too well known to make it necessary for me to refer to it in this communication. The public service cannot be promoted by placing under his command an officer who has so little confidence in his ability as I have. Our relations are such that it would be degrading in me to accept any position under him. I have therefore to respectfully tender the resignation of my commission as major-general of volunteers.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General of Volunteers.

That the same unfriendly feelings were entertained by Hooker towards Slocum is evident from despatches that will be given farther on in their proper place. But the War Department refused to accept Slocum's resignation, and so he was forced to take orders from Hooker until such time as he could be provided with an appointment better suited to his rank.

On September twenty-fourth the Twelfth Corps was relieved by the First and ordered to march to the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, where cars were in waiting to convey the troops on their long ride to Southern Tennessee. The orders required that the withdrawal of the two corps should be made without attracting the attention of the enemy on the opposite side of the Rapidan. It may be interesting to note here how thoroughly Lee kept himself informed as to the movements of his opponent. He immediately sent a despatch to Jefferson Davis notifying him, "that on the twenty-fourth the Twelfth Corps, the one commanded by General Slocum, was reviewed by Sir Henry Holland and Assistant Adjutant-General Townsend. The review of a corps was noticed on that day by our lookout, and the disappearance of the large encampment east of Culpeper Court House."* On the twenty-eighth he informs Davis

* The First Army Corps, which moved to Raccoon Ford to relieve the Twelfth.

that "It has been reported to me that Slocum's and Howard's Corps, Twelfth and Eleventh, under General Hooker, are to re-enforce General Rosecrans, and that the movement of those corps was to have commenced on the evening of the twenty-fifth." Three days later he sends a despatch saying, "I consider it certain that two corps have been withdrawn from General Meade's army to re-enforce General Rosecrans. One of the scouts saw General Howard take the cars at Catlett's Station, and saw other troops marching toward Manassas which he believes to have been the Twelfth Corps."

The Transfer to The Army of the Cumberland.

September 24, 1863.—The Twelfth Corps, leaving its camp on the Rapidan, marched to Brandy Station; but, owing to a lack of railroad sidings at this point, most of the regiments, after waiting two days here, marched to Bealeton, where they boarded the cars on the twenty-sixth, for their journey west. Well-defined rumors were now in circulation as to their destination, and the men began to realize regretfully that they were severing their connection with the Army of the Potomac and leaving the battle grounds of Virginia where so many of their comrades lay buried.

The rolling stock provided for the accommodation of the troops consisted of the ordinary box cars used for hauling freight, in which plain seats had been constructed of boards. From thirty-five to forty-five men were placed in a car, according to its size. The route lay through Alexandria and Washington, and thence over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, through Harpers Ferry, Martinsburg, and Hancock to Benwood, on the Ohio River.

The cars furnished for the first part of the journey had several square openings in each, sawed out of the sides, which afforded proper ventilation and enabled the soldiers to see the country through which they traveled. But at the first change of trains the men were transferred to close, dark cars, where they suffered for lack of air and light. They soon remedied this difficulty, however; for with the butts of their muskets or axes of their camp equipment they quickly made whatever windows were necessary. Many of the soldiers, in order to get a better view, rode on top of the cars, where they could enjoy the picturesque scenery of West Virginia, its mountains,

wild ravines, and forests which were then glowing with autumnal colors.

At Benwood the troops left the cars and, crossing the Ohio River on pontoons, boarded the trains of the Central Ohio Railroad in which they traveled via Cambridge, Zanesville, Columbus, Xenia, Dayton, Indianapolis, and Jeffersonville, crossing the river again on ferry boats to Louisville.

The ride through Ohio and Indiana was a memorable one. The former State was in the heat of a political campaign in which one of the candidates for governor had become conspicuous for his disloyalty and opposition to the continuance of the war. The loyal people turned out in crowds at each railway station, where they cheered the Union veterans and gave substantial evidence of their kindly feelings in the abundance of food and drink given to them, hot coffee, lemonade, cold boiled hams, roast meats and fowls, cake, fruit, and various dainties. The hungry boys, just from the front with its plain fare, relished this bountiful supply of choice eatables, and talked of home and how it reminded them of mother's cooking.

But more than all, they enjoyed the sight of the loyal, bright-eyed girls, whose smiling faces and friendly advances greeted them at each stopping place. It was so long since they had seen any of the fair sex, or perhaps because of the facts in the case, they were sure that the Ohio and Indiana girls were the prettiest and nicest in the world. The boys wrote saucy love notes on cards, old envelopes, or any scrap of paper they could find, with the name and address of the sender added, and tossed them to the fair ones. In many instances some reckless lad, unable to find anything else to write on, took off his paper collar, wrote on it his address, and tying it to an apple threw it into the blushing, laughing crowd. Rev. Leonard G. Jordan, in his history of the Tenth Maine Battalion, says that "At Centreville, Indiana, where there was a young ladies' seminary, a bevy of the fair pupils stood on the platform of the station and sang many songs, or cheered us by pleasant words, and even in some cases by much warmer testimonials of their affection (perhaps for their brothers' sakes!)." As a result of all this the Ohio mails for months afterward carried hundreds of dainty missives southward to Slocum's camps, in reply to which many a soldier boy, seated at a cracker box, took his "pen in hand" to indite a becoming answer to his particular correspondent. And to-day there is more than one

veteran of the war whose gray-haired wife "used to live in Ohio when she was a girl" and who "got acquainted" with her husband "when the Twelfth Corps went West."

From Louisville the railroad journey was continued to Nashville, where the troops changed cars again and proceeded to Stevenson and Bridgeport, Alabama. The greater part of the corps arrived here, their present destination, on October fourth. Greene's Brigade, of Geary's Division, had left the cars the same day at Murfreesborough, Tennessee, where they were stationed temporarily, while Candy's Brigade, going on to Tullahoma, were unloaded there. The Eleventh Corps, which had preceded the Twelfth from Virginia, had gone as far as Bridgeport also, where it encamped for awhile. The journey had occupied seven days, in which the troops had traveled 1,192 miles. The transfer of these two corps — 23,000 men, with their artillery, baggage, and horses — from Virginia to Tennessee, without loss or accident, was one of the notable events of the war, reflecting high credit on all connected with its management.

In sending this reinforcement to Tennessee it was not the intention of the War Department that these troops should join Rosecrans's army immediately; for he already had more men in his command than he could provide rations for, owing to the frequent interruption of the long line of communication that lay between him and Nashville, his base of supplies. The primary object was to protect the railroad from cavalry raids; and, subsequently, to restore the broken line between Bridgeport and Chattanooga, which, upon Rosecrans's retreat from Chickamauga was seized by the Confederates.

The arrival of Hooker's troops was opportune. A large force of Confederate cavalry under command of Gen. Joseph Wheeler was even then moving against the line of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. The road was raided at various places. Bridges were burned at Stone's River, at Garrison's Fork of the Duck River, and other points. The track was torn up, telegraph wires cut, and the long tunnel near Cowan was obstructed. The garrisons at Stone's River and Christiana were captured; the towns of Wartrace and Shelbyville were plundered.

Williams's Division had left the cars at Stevenson and Bridgeport but a few hours when orders came to put the men on the trains

again and move northward in pursuit of the raiders. The first stop was at Decherd, thirty miles distant, where a branch railway runs to McMinnville, which with its garrison and military stores, had just been captured by Wheeler. The next day the division moved to Elk River Bridge; and then, for lack of cars, it marched to Tullahoma. Then the route taken by the enemy's cavalry necessitated a movement — part of the division on cars and part on foot — to Duck River, and thence to Shelbyville; and from there to Bellbuckle and Christiana. A part of Candy's Brigade joined in this latter movement.

By the ninth Wheeler had disappeared, driven away by Crook's and Mitchell's Union cavalry, and then Williams's Division, in disconnected bodies, moved southward again to Elk River Bridge and Decherd, where some of the regiments remained twelve days or more. Here, at Estill Springs, the men were greatly interested in a regiment of colored troops stationed there — the first they had seen — whose drills, parades, and peculiar demeanor while on picket or guard duty furnished plenty of amusement, together with a supply of funny camp stories. The white soldiers near by were especially edified when some of their officers, who strolled into this camp, were arrested because they did not have the countersign.

Under orders of October eleventh the Eleventh Corps was directed to guard the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad from Bridgeport northward to Tantalon, and the Twelfth Corps from Tantalon to Murfreesborough. From the latter station to Nashville the road was protected by some western troops under Gen. R. S. Granger.

On October thirteenth the Twelfth Corps had been distributed along its portion of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad at the following points:

Slocum's Headquarters,	Wartrace.
10th Maine Battalion,	Wartrace.
Williams's Headquarters,	Decherd.
20th Connecticut,	Cowan.
3rd Maryland,	Tunnel.
46th Pennsylvania,	Decherd.
123rd New York,	Decherd.
145th New York,	Decherd.
4th United States Artillery — F,	Decherd.

1st New York Light Artillery — M,	Decherd.
3rd Wisconsin,	Elk River.
2nd Massachusetts,	Elk River.
107th New York — 8 companies,	Elk River.
107th New York — 2 companies,	Estill Springs.
27th Indiana,	Tullahoma.
13th New Jersey,	Tullahoma.
150th New York — 7 companies,	Tullahoma.
150th New York — 3 companies,	R. R. Trestle.
Geary's Headquarters,	Murfreesborough.
7th Ohio,	Garrison's Bridge.
66th Ohio,	Wartrace.
28th Pennsylvania,	Duck River.
147th Pennsylvania,	Duck River.
5th Ohio,	Normandy.
29th Ohio,	Normandy.
111th Pennsylvania,	Murfreesborough.
109th Pennsylvania,	Columbus X Roads.
29th Pennsylvania — 8 companies,	Fosterville.
29th Pennsylvania — 2 companies,	Shelbyville.
78th New York,	Stone's River.
60th New York,	Murfreesborough.
102nd New York,	Murfreesborough.
149th New York.	Murfreesborough.
137th New York,	Train Guards.
Pennsylvania Battery — E, (Knap's,) -	Murfreesborough.

On October nineteenth General Rosecrans was relieved from command, and Gen. George H. Thomas was appointed in his place. As the Twelfth Corps was now in the Army of the Cumberland the men heard the news with expressions of satisfaction, for they were proud to serve under the "Hero of Chickamauga."

On the twenty-fourth Hooker received the following order from Thomas's headquarters:

You will leave General Slocum with one division of the Twelfth Corps to guard the railroad from Murfreesborough to Bridgeport. The Eleventh Corps and one division of the Twelfth will be concentrated at or in the vicinity of Bridgeport, preparatory to crossing the Tennessee River and moving up the south side to take possession of Rankin's Ferry. The object of the movement is to hold the road and gain possession of the river as far as Brown's Ferry.

In transmitting this order to Slocum, General Butterfield, Hooker's chief of staff, added: "The general desires the division that can be quickest at Bridgeport be placed there." The condition stipulated in this request seems to have determined the selection of Geary's Division for the important and glorious movement then pending, and enabled the White Stars to win further laurels at Wauhatchie and Lookout Mountain.

The reason why General Slocum was left behind is clear in view of his claim that "when he came here it was under promise that he should not have to serve under Hooker."* Some such arrangement became necessary, for Hooker naturally entertained resentful feelings against Slocum when the outspoken opinions of the latter came to his ears. On October twelfth he wrote to President Lincoln, from Stevenson, Alabama, suggesting that Slocum should be tendered a command in Missouri or elsewhere, and in which he says:

> Unless he gives more satisfaction in the discharge of his duties he will soon find himself in deeper water than he has been wading in. I shall act very deliberately with him. I will incur reproach if I allow the public interest to suffer by his contumacy. He now appears to be swayed entirely by passion in the exercise of his office.

Slocum continued in his headquarters at Tullahoma, Tennessee, where he had been most of the time since the arrival of his corps in the West. Geary's Division, which had been stationed at different points along the railroad between Murfreesborough and Tullahoma, was placed on railroad trains and moved to Bridgeport, his advance reaching there on the twenty-fifth.

The Midnight Battle of Wauhatchie.

Bridgeport, on the Tennessee River, was practically the terminus at this time of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. The trains could not run any farther, because the line between this point and Chattanooga was in the possession of the enemy. The river was not available as a route for supplies, for the northern slope of Lookout Mountain, then held by a portion of Longstreet's Corps, descended

* See letter of C. A. Dana to Secretary of War, dated Chattanooga, October 29, 1863. Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part I, p. 73.

WAUHATCHIE VALLEY AND BATTLEFIELD.

View from Sunset Rock on Lookout Mountain where Generals Bragg and Longstreet stood when they watched the troops of Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps, in their advance to Wauhatchie. The railroad and highway run from right to left, through the center of the picture. The fighting occurred near the point where the fence line intersects the highway.

steeply to the shore, enabling the Confederate forces at that point to command the channel.

Chattanooga was so closely besieged on its southern front and on its flanks by Bragg's army that the Union forces there were obliged to obtain their subsistence and other supplies from Bridgeport. The latter place was only twenty-six miles distant, but owing to the obstructed communication all rations and forage had to be hauled on wagon trains by a circuitous mountainous country over roads that were well nigh impassable. The wagon trains were inadequate to the duty, and the road was lined with the bodies of horses and mules that had died of exhaustion and hunger on the route. The Union troops at Chattanooga were already on short rations, and the artillery teams were destitute of forage. Unless communication could be opened with Bridgeport by driving the enemy out of Lookout Valley, Chattanooga must be evacuated, and all the advantages of Rosecrans's campaign lost.

The Nashville Railroad was now safely held by Williams's Division, leaving Hooker free to undertake the movement intrusted to him for restoring direct connection with Bridgeport. To assist him in this undertaking, a force of 1,500 men from the Army of the Cumberland came down the river in pontoon boats on the night of October twenty-seventh, and under cover of the darkness effected a landing at Brown's Ferry, near the lower end of Lookout Valley. A bridge was laid immediately, over which the remainder of the two brigades to which these men belonged crossed and took up an intrenched position.

On the morning of October twenty-seventh Geary's Division, preceded by the Eleventh Corps, left Bridgeport, and crossing the Tennessee River on pontoons commenced the movement to Chattanooga. Geary was unable to concentrate his entire command at Bridgeport in time for this advance, and so marched away without Candy's Brigade and the One Hundred and Second New York of Greene's Brigade. The division moved this day as far as Shellmound, where it arrived at two p. m. Heavy fatigue details were made here to assist in the construction of a pontoon bridge at this place, the men being kept on this work until after midnight. Resuming the march at daylight the column moved by way of Running Water and Whitesides to Wauhatchie, six miles from Chattanooga, encamping here at five p. m. On passing Whitesides the

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Sixtieth New York was detached, with orders to hold the pass leading from that place to Trenton.

When General Hooker halted Geary's command at Wauhatchie he ordered the Eleventh Corps on to Brown's Ferry, three miles farther, leaving Geary in the valley, where his unsupported and isolated position naturally invited attack. General Hazen, commanding one of the brigades from Chattanooga, "went to General Hooker and endeavored to get him to take up a compact line across the valley, and to bring all his forces together. But being confident the enemy would not disturb him, Hooker refused to change his dispositions." * General Hooker in his report of the battle of Wauhatchie says that, "The commands were too small to keep up a substantial communication that distance," and that he "deemed it more prudent to hold the men well in hand than to have a feeble one;" also, that in his judgment, it was essential to retain possession of both approaches to Kelly's Ferry.

On October twenty-eighth, the day of Geary's arrival at Wauhatchie, Generals Bragg and Longstreet were on Lookout Mountain, from where they saw the Eleventh Corps march down Lookout Valley and unite with the force at Brown's Ferry. Longstreet says in his report, "The rear guard of this command † (about 1,500, with a battery of artillery) came up in about an hour and halted three miles from the main force. The road between the two commands ran along the western base of a series of heights and parallel to them." He says further: "As soon as the rear guard halted I sent orders to General Jenkins ‡ to concentrate at the base of the mountain his three brigades. I also ordered General Law to advance his brigade as soon as it was dark, and occupy the height in his immediate front which commanded the road between the enemy's forces. General Jenkins reported in time to see the positions occupied by the enemy. He was ordered to hold the point designated for General Law with a sufficient force, while a portion of his command moved up the road and captured or dispersed the rear guard. This was the force which I hoped to be able to cut off, surprise and capture."

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* See letter of C. A. Dana to Secretary Stanton, sent from Chattanooga, October 29, 1863. Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part I, p. 72.

† Geary's Division.

‡ General Jenkins was then in command of Hood's Division.

MAP SHOWING MOVEMENTS OF
GEARY'S DIVISION AND WHITAKER'S BRIGADE
AT THE
BATTLE OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN, TENN.
Nov. 24, 1863
From map made to accompany report of
BRIG. GEN. WM. F SMITH
Scale
0 ½ 1 1½ 2 Miles
Union
Confederate
Haley's Trace
25 M to Jasper
The Narrows
True
Magnetic
TENNESSEE RIVER
RACCOON MOUNTAIN
WILLIAMS ISLAND
Sam Williams
Anderson Road
Sam Sibley
Poes Road
Stringer's Spr
Ross Isld
CITY OF CHATTANOOGA
Depot
Brown's Ferry
Thompson
Pan Gap
Trace
Savannah Island
Kelley's Ferry Boat Landing
Ellis
Mrs. Rice
Cummings
Parker
J C Rowden
Wauhatchie
Chattanooga Creek
Lookout Creek
GEARY
WHITAKER
MTN
LOOKOUT
Chattanooga Valley Road
To Rossville
NASHVILLE AND CHATTANOOGA R.R.
SOUTH BOUNDARY LINE OF TENNESSEE
Old Lookout Station
To Trenton
Paris
JULIUS BIEN & CO. N.Y.

A well-laid plan, indeed! But the White Star Division was composed of troops that never allowed themselves to be surprised; nor could they be captured by any such force as Longstreet, in this case, deemed sufficient for that purpose.

As soon as the night was far enough advanced to conceal the movement the Confederate leader placed Law's and Robertson's brigades on the hill commanding the road, with the intention of intercepting any reinforcements from Brown's Ferry, and then sent Bratton's South Carolina brigade on its mission to "cut off, surprise and capture" Geary's command. Benning's Brigade was placed on Law's left, where it was in position to reinforce Bratton. These four brigades, constituting Hood's Division, "should have mustered" 5,000 men, according to Longstreet's statement.

Geary had with him at this time two brigades — Greene's and Cobham's — of which there were six regiments present altogether, with one battery (Knap's) of four guns. The regiments were small. One of them, the One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania, reported only 110 men, all told, as present in the engagement. Geary says that his infantry carried 93 officers and 1,499 enlisted men into action at Wauhatchie. Longstreet made a very close estimate as to the strength of that rear guard. The force sent to surprise Geary was Kershaw's Brigade of Gettysburg fame, containing six regiments, under command of Col. John Bratton.

As night came on, Geary, realizing the dangerous situation which he occupied, ordered his men to "bivouac upon their arms, with cartridge boxes on," and placed his four pieces of artillery in position on a knoll near the Rowden house. The Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania, Colonel Rickards, was sent out on picket.

Shortly after midnight Bratton's advance encountered the pickets of the Twenty-ninth, whose vigilance and steady resistance gave Geary ample notice of the impending attack and time to get his troops in line. In the engagement which followed, the fighting was desperate and prolonged. The South Carolinians attacked in front and flank, but the White Stars changed front to rear, or refused their right and left regiments whenever it became necessary in conforming to the movements of the enemy.

There was a moon that night, but it was overclouded much of the time, and in the darkness the soldiers could aim only at the flashes of the rifles or in the direction indicated by the cries and

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cheers of their opponents. The Confederates directed an effective fire against the battery, the flame from the cannon affording a tempting mark. So many of the gunners were disabled that two of the pieces were silenced, and an infantry detail became necessary in working the other guns. The shouts of the Confederates to pick off the artillerists could be plainly heard. Lieutenant Geary of the battery, a son of the general, was killed. He had sighted a gun, and as he gave the command to fire he fell dead with a bullet through his forehead. Captain Atwell fell mortally wounded soon after; but the heroic gunners stuck to their work.

The fiercest attack was made against the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York and One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania, and the steadiness of these veteran regiments contributed materially to the defeat of the enemy. Toward the close of the action there was a scarcity of ammunition in these regiments, and many of the soldiers were obliged to get cartridges from the boxes of their fallen comrades. The four guns of the battery fired in all 224 rounds. At three a. m., after two hours or more of continuous fighting, the Confederates abandoned the attack and disappeared in the darkness, leaving many of their dead and wounded on the field.

The Union losses were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Staff,		4		4
78th New York,		2		2
137th New York,	15	75		90
149th New York,	1	11		12
29th Pennsylvania, -	1	6	2	9
109th Pennsylvania,	5	23	4	32
111th Pennsylvania, -	9	34	2	45
Knap's (Pennsylvania) Battery,	3	19		22
Total, -	34	174	8	216

Major Boyle, of the One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania, was killed, and General Greene was seriously wounded by a bullet that passed through his upper jaw, disabling him completely.

The casualties in the Confederate troops, as officially reported by regiments, amounted to 31 killed, 286 wounded, and 39 captured

or missing; total, 356. Colonel Kilpatrick, of the First South Carolina, was killed, "shot through the heart early in the engagement."

The battle over, the soldiers busied themselves until morning searching in the darkness for their wounded comrades, and in fortifying their position against further attack. Captain Collins, in his history of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, says: "When the rays of the rising sun came over Lookout Mountain they fell with a mellow light upon the tall and portly form of General Geary, standing with bowed head on the summit of the knoll, while before him lay the lifeless form of a lieutenant of artillery. Scattered about were cannon, battered and bullet-marked caissons and limbers, and many teams of horses dead in harness. There were many other dead, but none attracted his attention save this one, for he was his son. The men, respecting his sorrow, stood at a distance in silence, while he communed with his grief."*

When General Hooker heard the firing at Wauhatchie he ordered the Eleventh Corps under arms, and directed a portion of it to march to Geary's relief. Two brigades moved up the valley road to Wauhatchie, but they did not arrive there until five-thirty a. m., two hours after the fight had ended. In the meantime Col. Orland Smith's Brigade of the Eleventh Corps attacked the hill near the Ellis house, which was held by Law and Robertson, and drove the Confederates from this position.

The casualties in the fighting on the night of October twenty-eighth were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Eleventh Corps,	45	150	9	204
Twelfth Corps,	33	177	6	216
Total,	78	327	15	420

In addition, the Western troops in their operations at Brown's Ferry, October twenty-seventh, lost four killed and seventeen wounded.

*Gen. John White Geary was born in Westmoreland Co., Pa., Dec. 30, 1819. Served in Mexican war as colonel, 2d Pa. Vols. Wounded at Chapultepec. First mayor of San Francisco (1850), and territorial governor of Kansas in 1856. At the outbreak of the Civil War he raised the 28th Pa. Vols. and went to the front as its colonel. Commissioned brig. gen. April 25, 1862; brevetted maj. gen. in 1865. Elected governor of Pa. in 1866. Died at Harrisburg, Pa., Feb. 8, 1873.

The Twelfth Corps

The failure of General Bragg to drive Hooker out of Lookout Valley enabled Thomas to maintain communication with Bridgeport, and relieve his starving army. The "cracker line," as his soldiers called it, was open again. The Confederates still held Lookout Mountain in force, and hence the railroad and highway at its northern point remained in the enemy's hands. But, owing to the loop in the river, Brown's Ferry was only four miles from Chattanooga, and steamboats could ascend the stream to this point unmolested, while the wagon road by way of this ferry was now free all the way to Bridgeport.

The battle of Wauhatchie was a brilliant affair, to say nothing of the important results gained by it. General Thomas was a man of few words, not given to flattery, or the bestowal of unmerited praise. Hence, it is well to note the strong words in his General Order, No. 265, wherein he describes the fighting done by the commands of Geary and Smith, and adds that it "will rank among the most distinguished feats of arms of this war."

Lookout Mountain.

In October, 1863, the War Department issued an order creating the Military Division of the Mississippi, composed of the Department of the Ohio, the Cumberland and the Tennessee, the command of which was given to General Grant. On receiving notice of this appointment he proceeded immediately to Chattanooga to acquaint himself with the condition of affairs in that Department, and after a few days he established his headquarters there. The battle of Wauhatchie having solved the question of supplies he decided on an offensive movement, planning a battle that would either destroy Bragg's army or drive it southward into Georgia, and, at the same time, relieve Burnside, who was besieged at Knoxville. To this end he ordered the Army of the Tennessee, under General Sherman, to move from Memphis to Chattanooga to reinforce the Army of the Cumberland. Sherman, with three divisions of the Fifteenth Corps and one of the Seventeenth, arrived at Lookout Valley on November twenty-second, where the Confederates, from their eyrie on Point Lookout, could watch the long columns and wagon trains as they moved on toward Chattanooga.

The Fourth and Fourteenth corps, of the Army of the Cumber-

LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN FROM WAUHATCHIE VALLEY.

land — the troops that fought under Rosecrans at Chickamauga — were encamped on the southern outskirts of Chattanooga, in the valley bounded by Missionary Ridge on the east and Lookout Mountain on the west. Beyond the latter range, to the west, is situated Lookout Valley, in which Hooker's army was stationed.

General Grant's first plan did not contemplate the storming of Lookout Mountain, his intention being to drive Bragg's forces off Missionary Ridge, combined with an attack on the Confederate lines that stretched across Chattanooga Valley near the town, which if successful would necessitate the evacuation of Lookout. With the seeming intention of giving Sherman an opportunity to win a full share of the honors of this battle, he planned that the latter should assault Missionary Ridge at its northern end, while Thomas should cooperate by attacking the enemy's line in the valley. To enable Sherman to accomplish this successfully Grant took the Eleventh Corps away from Hooker and ordered it, together with some other reinforcements from Thomas's command, to report to the commander of the Army of the Tennessee.

On November twenty-third Thomas advanced a part of his forces, and, in a brief but brilliant affair, seized Orchard Knob, a slight elevation near the base of Missionary Ridge. But on the twenty-third the high water and driftwood in the river broke up the pontoon bridge at Brown's Ferry before Osterhaus's Division of Sherman's army could cross, leaving these troops behind in Lookout Valley. Grant then issued orders to Hooker to take the forces remaining in his command and, with Osterhaus's Division, make a threatening movement against Lookout Mountain, and to carry that position if the "demonstration should develop its practicability."*

Hooker had now at his command in Lookout Valley Geary's Division of the Twelfth Corps; Cruft's Division of the Fourth Corps (Army of the Cumberland), consisting of two brigades, under Whitaker and Grose; and Osterhaus's Division — two brigades under Woods and Williamson.

Lookout Mountain is a long ridge, running north and south, with an elevation of 2,200 feet above tide, and 1,580 feet above the Tennessee River, which flows around its northern point. From the river the dividing line of its wooded slopes rises steeply to the base

* Hooker's official report of the battle.

of Point Lookout, where that end of the ridge terminates abruptly in a perpendicular wall of rock. A short distance down the slope from the foot of this palisade is a farm on which stands the building known as Craven's house, or the White House, as sometimes called.

Near this house were posted two brigades of Stevenson's Division — Walthall's Mississippians, six regiments, and Moore's Alabamians, three regiments. During the battle they were reinforced by three regiments of Pettus's Alabama brigade. Other troops were on the summit of the ridge; but owing to their position above the palisades they took no part in the fighting, and received no orders to reinforce those on the lower slope. A line of Confederate pickets was stretched along the bank of Lookout Creek at the base of the mountain.

Hooker's plan of battle was complete: Geary's Division and Whitaker's Brigade were to cross Lookout Creek above Wauhatchie, ascend the western side of the mountain, and attack the position near the Craven house. Grose's Brigade (Fourth Corps) was to rebuild the bridges near the railroad, over which Osterhaus's Division could cross and climb the hill to the support of Geary, or by swinging to the left establish connection with Thomas's line in Chattanooga Valley. The artillery, under Major John A. Reynolds, Twelfth Corps, was placed where it could direct an effective fire against the enemy's position on the mountain and cover Geary's advance.

Early on the morning of November twenty-fourth Geary's command left its camps at the foot of Lookout Valley and marched to Wauhatchie Junction, two and one-half miles distant, leaving four regiments on guard duty — the Seventy-eighth New York, One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania, Fifth and Twenty-ninth Ohio. The troops were massed behind a wooded hill where their movements could not be seen by the Confederates on Point Lookout. Geary then assembled his brigade and field officers and informed them that he had orders to assault the enemy's works on the mountain. He explained in detail the movements to be made, and gave instructions that the same information should be communicated to the company officers.

The weather was damp and misty. A mass of drifting fog enveloped the summit of the mountain and upper slopes. Although it lifted at intervals the clouds obscured the outlook of the enemy's signal corps and enabled the movement to assume the nature of a surprise. Owing to the active work in view the men were in light

BATTLEFIELD OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN.

The Craven House and monument to Ireland's (Greene's) Brigade in the center. The other buildings were erected since the battle. Tennessee River and Moccasin Point in the distance.

marching order, having left their overcoats, blankets, and knapsacks in camp.

The pioneers soon bridged the creek at this point, and the troops began crossing at eight-thirty a. m., the skirmishers capturing the entire picket post stationed there before it could give an alarm. Moving by the right flank the column ascended the mountain until its advance reached the base of the high, rocky wall that forms the crest of the ridge. No opposition was encountered, for the enemy were not expecting any movement from this direction; the summit of the mountain was inaccessible at this place. The Confederate position, with its rifle pits and other defenses, was over two miles distant, around the point of the mountain and on its northern slope. The attention of the Confederates was diverted by the operations of Osterhaus's men who were engaged in bridging the creek at different points near the front, during which they were massed in full view of the enemy.

Geary's troops now faced to the left and front, and formed line of battle with Cobham's Brigade — two regiments only — on the right; Greene's Brigade, four regiments — now under command of Colonel Ireland — came next, forming the centre; Candy's Brigade held the left. Whitaker's Brigade, six regiments, was placed 350 yards in the rear in a second or supporting line. The command as now formed faced the north and extended from the foot of the mountain up its western slope to the base of the precipice or crest. Shortly after nine o'clock the division advanced, the second line moving steadily and at proper distance in its support.

The ground along which the troops moved has a slope of about forty-five degrees, is broken up transversely by ravines, and is covered with bowlders, loose stones, and patches of tangled undergrowth. The sides of the ravines are so steep in places that the soldiers had to climb on their hands and knees, or pull themselves up by clinging to roots or saplings. Progress was laborious in the extreme, and the men were soon dripping with perspiration. Still the line advanced rapidly along the side of the hill despite these disadvantages and preserved an alignment with proper connection that was most remarkable under the circumstances.

After going a mile or more the enemy's skirmishers were encountered, but they were driven back without lessening the rapidity of the advance. As the line moved on, the right kept

closely to the base of the precipice while the left, or lower end of the line, using the right as a pivot, swung around the base of the mountain, driving the Confederates out of the rifle pits there and uncovering the fords on Lookout Creek where Osterhaus's Division and Grose's Brigade were to cross as soon as the bridges could be constructed.

As the long line swept around the end of the mountain, the centre reached the plateau under Point Lookout where Walthall's Brigade was awaiting attack in an intrenched position. There was a brief interchange of shots by the skirmishers, and then the division, with fixed bayonets, charged on the double quick over the outer works. A few rapid volleys were delivered, and then Walthall's men, after a short but spirited resistance in which the fighting was very close, abandoned their position. The attack was so sudden and vigorous that a large number of the enemy were captured, Walthall reporting a loss of 853 prisoners from his brigade alone. Many of the Confederates who had started to retreat were stopped by the fire of Reynolds's batteries posted in the valley beyond Lookout Creek, which exploded their shells so rapidly on the line of escape that these men preferred capture to running this deadly gauntlet. Geary states that this first success was gained in less than fifteen minutes after the troops became engaged.

As it would be dangerous to weaken the line by detaching a sufficient force to guard the large number of prisoners taken at this time, the captured men were turned over to the care of some troops in the rear. Four battle flags were wrested from the hands of the enemy's color bearers in the fight — three by the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, and one by the Sixtieth New York.

The advance was quickly resumed, with orders to sweep everything before it. The remainder of Walthall's regiments fell back to a second line of works, held by Moore's Brigade, where they were joined shortly after by General Pettus, with his three regiments of Alabamians. But Geary's men, fairly wild with enthusiasm, drove the enemy back from each successive position where he attempted to make a stand. The Confederates on the top of the palisades opened with the artillery posted there; but as they were unable to depress their guns sufficiently their shells burst in the air high above the heads of the attacking line, inflicting but little loss. Failing to accomplish anything with their artillery fire they used

THE CRAVEN HOUSE.

Scene of the successful charge made by Ireland's New York Brigade. The hotel at the base of the Palisades was erected since the war.

shells as hand grenades, and lighting the fuses hurled them over the cliff. Their sharpshooters on the summit kept up an annoying fire for a while; but the clouds which were drifting around the mountain soon obscured their view.

Ireland's Brigade followed the Confederates closely as they gave ground, and drove them through a peach orchard and past the Craven house. As the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York dashed through the garden it captured two pieces of artillery planted there, taking the gunners prisoners. The regiment did not halt to place a guard over the guns, but, sweeping its colors over them to establish its claim as captors, this gallant command swept forward, eager to keep in front.* The returns for Moore's Brigade (Confederate) show that it lost 206 captured, most of whom were taken at this stage of the fighting.

The three Confederate brigades, or their remnants, now fell back to a position on the east side of the mountain, where they formed a line to defend the Summertown road which leads to the summit. The attack was not continued because orders were received from Hooker at twelve-thirty p. m. to cease pursuit when the dividing line of the ridge was reached and to strengthen the position there. Geary had advanced considerably beyond this line, however, before he received the order. About one o'clock the enemy made a feeble effort to regain some of the lost ground, but they were easily repulsed by the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, under Lieutenant Colonel Randall, and a force of skirmishers, under Captain Stegman, of the One Hundred and Second New York. The fighting was now over; the battle of Lookout Mountain was won.

During the forenoon the troops in the Army of the Cumberland, stationed in Chattanooga Valley, had listened anxiously to the tumult of the battle far above them; but owing to the clouds that hung low upon the mountain they could only judge of its progress by the sound of the firing as it grew louder and nearer. At noon a rift in the fog disclosed Geary's headquarters flag, with its white star on a blue field, waving proudly from the heights near the Craven

* These two guns are claimed in the official report of another command that followed in Ireland's rear. The prisoners captured by Geary's men and sent back were also claimed by regiments in whose care they were placed. This duplication of accounts compelled Grant to call Hooker's attention to the fact that in "the reports of his subordinate commanders the number of prisoners captured" was "greater than the number really captured by the whole army." [Official Records, Vol. XXXI, part II, p. 325.]

house, and a cheer went up from the waiting, watching thousands that reached the victorious fighters on the mountain, who sent back a loud enthusiastic greeting in reply.

Geary's troops were now relieved by regiments from the commands of Osterhaus and Grose who had effected a crossing, seized the road connecting with Thomas's right in the Chattanooga Valley, and ascended to the plateau at the Craven house. A dense fog now covered the hostile lines, and it prevailed during the remainder of the day. Objects could not be distinguished at a few yards distance, and all was quiet for awhile. But the enemy resumed its firing within an hour, continuing it in an irregular, desultory way until night.

In the evening, about seven o'clock, Carlin's Brigade of the Fourteenth Corps reported to General Geary. These troops were assigned a position on the eastern side of the mountain where they commanded a portion of the Summertown road, and repulsed a night attack which was made from that direction.

A drizzling rain had been falling, which with the cold wind that swept across the mountain rendered the men uncomfortable in the extreme. Wet to the skin, without blankets, and forbidden to make any fires, they suffered not a little. But they bore the exposure with fortitude, making no complaint. During the night the enemy evacuated the mountain, and the next morning the colors of the Eighth Kentucky and Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania were unfurled from the summit of Point Lookout.

In view of the natural strength of the position the casualties in the ranks of the assailants were less than would be expected. The dash and discipline of the troops, combined with their high enthusiasm and morale enabled them to carry the works of the enemy with a minimum of loss. Had there been any hesitation or unsteadiness, the loss of life would have been much greater. As it was, many brave men lost their lives. Major Elliott, of the One Hundred and Second New York, who was killed, was the first to fall. Lieutenant Colonel Avery, of the same regiment, was wounded, and suffered amputation of the thigh. Colonel Barnum, of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, who went into the fight suffering from an unhealed wound received at Malvern Hill, was again struck down while cheering on his men.

MONUMENT TO IRELAND'S NEW YORK BRIGADE, LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN.

This brigade was commanded by Gen. Geo. S. Greene prior to the battle of Wauhatchie, in which he was severely wounded. It was commanded at Lookout Mountain and on the Atlanta Campaign by Col. David Ireland.

Missionary Ridge.

The battle of Missionary Ridge was fought November 25, 1863, the day following the fight on Lookout Mountain. During the night the Confederates had evacuated not only the mountain but also their line of works across the Chattanooga Valley, and General Bragg massed his forces on Missionary Ridge, his line extending from the railroad tunnel at the north to Rossville Gap on the south. The Confederates occupied, also, a strong line of rifle pits that ran along the western base of the ridge.

General Grant's plan for this battle was that Sherman, with the Army of the Tennessee, should attack the north end of the ridge and drive the enemy back; that Thomas, with the Army of the Cumberland, should carry the intrenchments at its base; and that Hooker with his command should cross the valley to Rossville Gap and, attacking Bragg's left, cut off his retreat in that direction.

To enable Sherman to carry out his part of the work successfully, Grant placed at his disposal the Eleventh Corps and Davis's Division of the Fourteenth, in addition to the Army of the Tennessee. The Confederate position in his front was held by Cleburne's Division — four brigades — with two additional brigades that came to his assistance during the course of the engagement.

But Sherman was unable to carry out the part allotted to him in the plan of the battle. His forces moved to the assault early in the morning, and after fighting gallantly for several hours were repulsed with heavy loss, leaving eight stands of colors and over 300 prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

The Fourth and Fourteenth Corps had been in line all the forenoon, ready to take part in the battle. Grant and Thomas were on Orchard Knob anxiously waiting for the expected success of Sherman; but, as Grant says, "Sherman's condition was getting so critical that the assault for his relief could not be delayed any longer."* At two-thirty p. m. the order was given for the troops to attack the rifle pits at the base of the mountain. This was done with a rush, and the Confederates retreated up the hill sides. But the Union soldiers, fired with success and military ardor, continued in pursuit, and, although no orders had been issued for any advance

* Battles and Leaders. Vol. III, p. 706.

beyond the lower intrenchments, kept on and upward until they planted a long line of flags on the summit of the ridge. The enemy abandoned the ground and the battle was won.

Hooker's forces started from Lookout Mountain at ten a. m., and crossing Chattanooga Valley marched for Rossville Gap and the south end of Missionary Ridge, about six miles distant. Osterhaus's Division had the lead; then came Cruft, followed by Geary. The bridge over Chattanooga Creek had been destroyed, and so the column was delayed here three hours awaiting its rebuilding. It was three o'clock in the afternoon when Hooker's advance reached the southern end of Missionary Ridge at Rossville Gap. The battle was already raging on Thomas's front, at the centre of the line.

After a sharp little fight Osterhaus drove the enemy out of the gap and from the end of the ridge. Geary's Division, with the artillery, now turned to the left and north, skirting the base of the mountain range. Cruft advanced along the top of the ridge, while Osterhaus moved along the rear or eastern base.

Away to the left the battle had reached the decisive point, and Bragg's army was in retreat along the whole line. The sight of the fleeing Confederates with the shells bursting in their disordered ranks excited the White Stars, and Geary's men advanced with such impetuosity that, according to Major Reynolds's report, the artillery had to trot and several times force the horses into a gallop to keep pace with the infantry. The brigades of Creighton and Cobham ascended the heights, and joining on the left with Johnson's Division of the Fourteenth Corps, assisted in the capture of a large number of prisoners and several pieces of artillery belonging to Stewart's Division.

Pursuit was continued the next morning, Bragg's army retreating southward to Ringgold and Dalton. Arriving at West Chickamauga Creek Hooker's column was forced to halt, as the enemy had destroyed the bridge. A foot bridge was constructed on which the infantry crossed, the field officers swimming their horses; but the artillery had to await the arrival of the pontoon train. Geary's Division bivouacked that night at the foot of Pigeon Hills, four miles from Ringgold.

ON MISSIONARY RIDGE.

Position carried by Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps, on the right of the Union line.

Ringgold.

On the morning of November twenty-seventh Geary's Division left its place of bivouac and marched to Ringgold, entering the town at eight o'clock. This place is twenty-eight miles south of Chattanooga, and had at this time a population of over 2,000. Osterhaus's Division, which had the advance that morning, was already engaged with the enemy's forces, driving them back to the hills beyond the town. Cleburne's Division was occupying a strong position there in order to gain time in which the wagon trains could cross the bridges on the Catoosa Creek, and place a safe distance between them and their pursuers.

A wooded range of hills, about 500 feet high, called Taylor's Ridge, lay in rear of the town. A narrow defile led through it, the bottom of which was scarcely wide enough for the river, highway, and railroad track. Cleburne's troops, reputed as the best in Bragg's army, held this pass and the hills on either side, with a section of artillery posted at the mouth of the gorge. Osterhaus's two brigades were making a gallant effort to carry the heights and, by gaining the summit, turn the position.

Hooker ordered Geary to send a brigade to the left of the pass, and charge up the hill. Candy's Brigade, now under command of Colonel Creighton, was selected for this dangerous task. Creighton's four regiments moved rapidly across the plain to the foot of the ridge, under a severe fire from the summit and climbed its steep sides. The ascent was slow and difficult. The men were subjected to a deadly fire from sharpshooters who were protected by rocks and trees. Three of the regiments reached a position near the top of the ridge, where they delivered several effective volleys and were in a fair way to scale the heights. But the Seventh Ohio was compelled to ascend through a ravine where they encountered a fire on front and flank that cut down its officers and men at a rapid rate. It returned the fire gallantly, and pressed on until its skirmishers were near the top. The enemy, now strongly reinforced, sent volley after volley into the ranks of this brave regiment until all of its officers except one were shot down and the ranks were thinned so rapidly that success was hopeless. Lieutenant-Colonel Crane, who was in command, was killed, and the regiment was without officers; but the men kept up the desperate fight. Creighton

then gave the order to retreat, and they fell back, bringing off as many of their wounded as possible. The enemy's fire continued, and soon after reaching the foot of the hill the gallant Creighton fell, dying with a half-uttered cheer upon his lips. The three other regiments held a well-protected position, about forty yards below the crest, but as their flanks were exposed by this break in the line, Geary ordered them to retire also and form on the line below.

In the meanwhile Cobham's two regiments, which had been massed behind the large stone building at the railway station, were sent to the right in support of one of Osterhaus's brigades which was hard pressed. Ireland's Brigade was also ordered to the relief of Osterhaus on the right, his troops moving forward on the double quick under a storm of canister and bullets. Forming on Cobham's right, these two brigades checked the Confederates in their advance and drove them back within the gap. A small detail from the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, occupying a hastily constructed breastwork, silenced the section of brass guns posted at the opening of the pass, and captured the guidon of the battery, together with a regimental flag bearing the stars and bars of the Confederacy. But the artillerists, after several unsuccessful attempts, succeeded in dragging the two guns within the protecting cover of the narrow defile.

At noon Hooker's artillery, under Major Reynolds, came on the field, the horses galloping forward under whip and spur. Reynolds had been delayed by the construction of the bridge over Chickamauga Creek. His guns opened with marked effect, enfilading the gap and shelling the heights, after which the enemy's fire soon ceased and his troops could be seen hurrying through the pass in full retreat. The Confederates attempted to burn the two bridges over the Catoosa Creek, just beyond the farther or eastern end of the defile; but a force of skirmishers from the One Hundred and Second New York under Capt. Lewis R. Stegman, who had followed close on the heels of the retreating troops, opened a hot fire on their rear guard, under cover of which Stegman's men extinguished the flames at the railroad bridge, while a portion of them pushed on and saved the other one. General Grant, who had now arrived on the field, gave orders to discontinue the pursuit.

Geary's Division remained at Ringgold two days longer, during which the mills, tanneries, manufactories, railroad buildings, and

THE PASS AT RINGGOLD.

View showing a part of the battlefield on which Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps, was engaged.

other structures that might be serviceable to the Confederacy were ordered burned. In the conflagration that followed some private dwellings were also destroyed. On December first the division left Ringgold before daylight and returned that day to its encampment in Lookout Valley.

Hooker wanted to follow Bragg, believing that he could achieve good results, and entertained feelings of regret afterward that permission to do so was denied him. He was also annoyed on his return by the criticism of his management at the battle of Ringgold. In a communication to the Secretary of War February 25, 1864, he takes occasion to say that "Influence has been at work to throw dust in the eyes of the public in regard to Ringgold, and it is to divert attention from the bungling operations on the enemy's right, which were really deplorable. The great mistake of all was in checking the pursuit at Ringgold; for if one-half of the marching had been done there that was done in going to Knoxville the greater part of Bragg's army, and certainly all of its material, would now have been ours." *

The losses of the Seventh Ohio at Ringgold were severe. The regiment went into action with 14 officers and 206 enlisted men. Every officer was killed or wounded except one. In addition to the colonel and lieutenant-colonel, the adjutant and two line officers were killed, and eight line officers wounded. Capt. Charles T. Greene, Assistant Adjutant General of the Third Brigade, was severely wounded by an unexploded shell that, passing through the body of his horse, shattered his leg so that amputation was necessary. He was a son of General Greene, who had commanded this brigade until he was disabled at Wauhatchie.

The strength of Hooker's forces engaged at Ringgold was:

Osterhaus's Division, Fifteenth Corps,	3,375
Geary's Division, Twelfth Corps,	1,989
Total,	5,364

* Official Records, Vol. XXXII, Part II, p. 468.

The losses were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Osterhaus's Division,	51	310	42	403
Geary's Division,	34	169		203
Total,	85	479	42	606

Cleburne states in his official report that he took into this action "4,157 bayonets." With the usual number of officers this would give him a strength of about 4,500. He reports his loss at 20 killed. 190 wounded, and 11 missing; total, 221. He mentions the capture of two flags from Osterhaus's Division, specifying the regiments from which they were taken; but he fails to report the two taken from his troops by Geary's men. He claims in explanation of his retreat that at noon he received a despatch from General Hardee to the effect that the trains were then well advanced and that he might withdraw in safety.

The casualties in Geary's command at the battle of Lookout Mountain were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Geary's Division,	22	116		138
Whitakers' Brigade,	17	63	2	82
Total,	39	179	2	220

In addition, Osterhaus's Division lost 13 killed and wounded; Grose's Brigade, 26; and Carlin's Brigade, 36.

The losses, by regiments, in Geary's Division at the two engagements — Lookout Mountain and Ringgold — were:

SECOND DIVISION — TWELFTH CORPS.

BRIG. GEN. JOHN W. GEARY.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Brigade.				
Col. Charles Candy.				
7th Ohio,	16	58		*74
66th Ohio,	5	10		*15
28th Pennsylvania,	4	30		*34
147th Pennsylvania,	1	18		*19
Second Brigade.				
Col. George A. Cobham.				
29th Pennsylvania,	3	9		12
111th Pennsylvania,	1	9		10
Third Brigade.				
Col. David Ireland.				
60th New York,	7	43		50
102nd New York,	3	11		14
137th New York,	6	32		38
149th New York,	10	64		74
General Staff,		1		1
Total,	56	285		341

* Loss occurred at Ringgold.

In connection with these losses it should be remembered that the regiments were small, the average strength being 236 only.

On December third General Grant, in special recognition of the gallant services rendered by the White Star Division in the recent campaign, gave it a review. To add honor to the occasion the great commander was accompanied by Generals Thomas, Hooker, Hunter, Butterfield and other generals, together with a large cavalcade of staff officers. The men, by their fine drill, excellent marching, and neat personal appearance, heightened the good impression already made by their meritorious conduct in action.

Soon after Geary's Division returned to its camp in Lookout Valley a man in one of the Pennsylvania regiments was convicted by a court-martial of the crime of robbing the dead on the battlefield of Lookout Mountain. The evidence showing that he had

been detected in the act he was dishonorably discharged and sentenced to be drummed out of camp. The division having been drawn up in a hollow square the prisoner was marched in, seated, while a barber made ready to shave his head. At this point, as Captain Collins says in his history of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York, "General Geary approached, and a scene followed which can only be appreciated by those who knew the man and his fiery temper. He commenced an address to the culprit by saying he was sorry any man in his division, and especially from his native State, had been guilty of the *damnable* crime of profanity of the dead. Here his temper gave way, and then followed a tirade of invectives, curses, abuse, and an exhibition that would put a Spanish bull-fight in the shade. The barber was paralyzed, the guards were dumbfounded, and the division, if not of heroes, would have taken to cover. The General, however, must have forgotten himself, for he did not *boot* the man, who looked disappointed at the omission. When this diatribe was over, the barber finished shaving the man's head, and removed his mustache, beard and eyebrows. The culprit, lead by a drum and fife playing the 'Rogue's March' and followed by the guards with charged bayonets, was then marched up and down the division lines weeping like a child. The men were encouraged to jeer when the procession passed, but remained silent. When the march was over the culprit, like the 'scape goat' of old bearing the sins of the nation, was let loose in the wilderness of Wauhatchie and never heard of afterward."

A few days after a far different and pleasanter ceremony took place. The One Hundred and Forty-ninth and Sixtieth New York marched to Hooker's headquarters, where General Geary presented the six flags captured by his division at Lookout Mountain and Ringgold — the only colors taken by the Union troops in these engagements. Speeches were made by General Geary and Colonel Barnum, after which the captured trophies were received in behalf of General Hooker by his chief of staff, General Butterfield, who responded in words highly complimentary to the division. Colonel Barnum, in recognition of his services and the regiment he represented, was deputized to take the flags to the War Department in Washington, with permission to exhibit them in the principal cities on his route.

To facilitate the transportation of supplies, the division left Look-

out Valley in the first week of January, 1864, the First and Second Brigades going to Bridgeport, and the Third to Stevenson, Alabama, where the regiments went into winter quarters and remained during the next four months.

Williams's Division during the winter of 1863–64 guarded that portion of the railroad between Bellbuckle and Cowan. For the greater part of this time the different regiments were stationed as follows:

Corps and Division Headquarters,	Tullahoma.
107th New York — 3 companies,	Bellbuckle.
107th New York — 3 companies,	Wartrace.
107th New York — 4 companies,	Shelbyville.
150th New York — 8 companies,	Normandy.
150th New York — 2 companies,	Garrison's Bridge.
13th New Jersey,	Duck River.
27th Indiana,	Tullahoma.
2nd Massachusetts,	Tullahoma.
123rd New York — 9 companies,	Elk River.
123rd New York — 1 company,	Estill Springs.
46th Pennsylvania,	Decherd.
5th Connecticut,	Cowan.
145th New York,	Tantalon.
3rd Maryland,	Bridgeport.
3rd Wisconsin,	Fayetteville.

Though the duty was light a continued watchfulness was necessary, as the country was infested with guerrillas, bushwhackers, and small bands of partisan rangers. Some of the regiments lost men repeatedly who were waylaid while outside their camp or on some foraging expedition, and murdered. On the evening of December twenty-third, Lieut. S. D. Porter, Twenty-seventh Indiana, and four unarmed soldiers who had been loading a detached wagon of a forage train were captured by guerrillas near the village of Mulberry, twenty-six miles southwest of Tullahoma. The guerrillas took their prisoners to a place on the bank of the Elk River, where they arrived about one o'clock in the night, tied their hands behind them and robbed them. The unfortunate men were then placed in line about five paces in front of their captors, who, at the word of command, fired a volley at them. One of the prisoners was killed instantly and three were wounded. Lieutenant Porter was not hit. He immediately ran, jumped into the river, got his hands loose, and

swimming to the opposite side escaped. The others were thrown into the stream where they either died of their wounds or were drowned, except one who, despite his wound, succeeded in freeing his hands and making his way to a hospital.

General Thomas, on hearing of this outrage, ordered that the property of all rebel citizens living within ten miles of the place where these men were captured, be assessed; and that each should pay his proportion according to his wealth, towards a levy of $30,000, to be paid to the families of the three murdered soldiers, $10,000 to each. This order provided, also, that if any person failed to pay his assessment within one week enough of his personal property should be seized and sold at auction to settle his liability.

General Slocum, who was charged with the execution of this order, detailed for this purpose Col. John H. Ketcham, One Hundred and Fiftieth New York, who with three companies of his own regiment and three of the Thirteenth New Jersey went to Mulberry. Colonel Ketcham collected over $25,000 in cash — a large part of which was paid in gold — and seized enough forage, cotton, etc., to ensure the completion of the fund.

This drastic measure did not have the deterrent effect that might be expected, for on Ketcham's return two men of his command who were marching a short distance ahead of the troops were waylaid and killed by a party of bushwhackers. This occurred so near the train that the shots were plainly heard. As the personal property taken under this enforced levy brought on sale an excess of $5,654.57 above the amount required, this sum was divided between the families of the two soldiers in the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York who were killed during the return of the expedition. To prevent as far as possible any repetition of these outrages, General Slocum ordered the Third Wisconsin to Fayetteville, after which this regiment remained on duty there until the opening of the spring campaign.

When the Twelfth Corps was transferred to Tennessee the men expected that their arrival would be greeted with the usual manifestation of gladness accorded to reinforcements at a critical time. But to their surprise the Western troops behaved in a most unaccountable manner. They gave the Gettysburg veterans a cold reception, and evinced an unfriendly feeling that showed itself often in outspoken derision or jeering cries of "Soft bread," "Paper collars," "Bull Run," "Rappahannock," "Feather beds," "Kid

gloves,'' and such other epithets as they could devise. They seemed to take exception to the care which the Twelfth Corps soldiers bestowed on matters of personal appearance, equipments, and policing of camps, evidently regarding it as a reflection on their own slouchy looks and ill-kept quarters. The frequency of company calls in the regiments of the Red Star Division, and the corps badge itself, were special objects of derision, they having no such " damned nonsense " in their army as they phrased it.

The Potomac men made little or no reply, but contented themselves in regarding each noisy demonstration with a well-simulated indifference that angered the rabble and incited it to redoubled efforts. This remarkable display of poor discipline and unsoldierly behavior was most apparent in the troops who were doing garrison duty and who had seen no other service worth mention up to that time. General Williams in a despatch, asking that some of these superfluous regiments within his territory might be assigned to duty elsewhere, alludes to them as troops with " different notions of duty, and a most unaccountable prejudice."

Though the Twelfth Corps veterans treated these outbreaks with silence and contempt, the persistent annoyance was liable to lead to serious results, and a general order was issued to the troops in Williams's Division cautioning them in the matter. In one case, however, the men concluded that silence was no longer necessary. It was discovered that a certain regiment which had been especially conspicuous by its abuse and noisy epithets had once signed a petition asking that it might be allowed to do guard duty at Nashville, in return for which exemption it offered to serve for half pay. The next time these men opened their mouths they received a blast in kind that drove them silent and dumbfounded to their tents.

It is pleasant to note here that some of the Western regiments stationed near the camps of the Twelfth Corps were an exception. They were a well-drilled, fine-looking lot of fellows, who did all they could to discountenance the unseemly behavior of the other troops. The Potomac men appreciating their friendly advances and kindly greetings, fraternized with them at every opportunity.

The troops at the front did not manifest any such open hostility, although many of them evidently regarded the newcomers with jealousy, and showed a lack of cordiality in their intercourse. But the gallant fighting done by the Star Corps at Lookout Mountain

and on the Atlanta campaign soon dissipated their mistaken ideas, and the matter was soon forgotten.

The troops in Williams's Division passed a pleasant winter. Aside from the guerrillas there was nothing to break the routine of camp life, or disturb their rest and enjoyment. Each regiment, wherever it was stationed, erected substantial cabins — warm, comfortable, and, to a soldier's idea, quite homelike. The days passed quickly, much of the time being occupied with regular duties — guard mounting, drill, and dress parade.

Chaplain Quint says that at Tullahoma there were divers dances, several excursions to cave and waterfall, and such like; and that "the prisoners tossed each newcomer in a blanket." The Christian Commission meetings were well attended. Everybody got vaccinated, because the smallpox was raging in the post hospital near by. The soldiers' graveyard was put in order by the good Chaplain. Boards and lumber were fairly plenty after Colonel Cogswell conscripted a sawmill. Guerrillas made a raid a few miles off, tore up the railroad, and shot a few prisoners they had taken. General Slocum had a reception or two at the mansion occupied as his headquarters. And so it went.

At Shelbyville — the largest town in that part of the State — the One Hundred and Seventh New York received a hospitable welcome. The regiment was in evidence at each ball, party, or social function, and did its best to make a gay winter of it. Slocum and his staff came over from Tullahoma on one occasion, and attended a ball that night at Steele's Hotel. General Ruger kindly granted a request for the brigade band, after which the Shelbyville girls were treated to some fine serenades. There was considerable flirtation, some love making, and when the regiment broke camp for the spring campaign it marched away to the tune of "The Girl I left behind me."

During the latter part of April Colonel Pardee, One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania, with 400 men from Candy's Brigade, took charge of and manned one of the gunboats which had just been built at Bridgeport. The principal duty of this improvised naval force consisted in patrolling the Tennessee River, west of Bridgeport. When the army moved to the front in May the gunboat was turned over to the post quartermaster and the crew rejoined their respective regiments.

In April General Slocum was assigned to the command of the

District of Vicksburg, an important position, both in the extent of territory and number of troops placed under him. On the evening of April seventh the officers of the various regiments on duty at Tullahoma called on him in a body to pay their respects before his departure. Arriving at his headquarters — the house used as a summer residence by Judge Catron — there was a serenade by the brigade band, after which General Slocum came to the door. Colonel Cogswell, of the Second Massachusetts, made an address in which he expressed on behalf of the others present their high regard for the corps commander and deep regret that he was to leave them. The general's reply was kind but brief. His voice betrayed emotion, and he evidently dare not trust himself to say more. On his invitation the party entered the house where they were entertained during the evening by the general and his staff. But, as it afterward happened, there was no need of sad farewells. It was destined that the general should again ride at the head of his corps, again lead it to victory and in triumphant review.

The following order issued by General Slocum at this time is characteristic of his loyal spirit and subservience to the best interests of the army.

HEADQUARTERS TWELFTH ARMY CORPS,
TULLAHOMA, TENN., *April* 9, 1864.

GENERAL ORDERS,
No. 7.

By virtue of General Orders, No. 5, Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps are consolidated, and will hereafter compose the First * Army Corps.

The official history of the Twelfth Army Corps, from its organization to the present day, and particularly its action at Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and its recent services in the Department of the Cumberland, justifies every soldier in the indulgence of a feeling of pride from his connection with it and of regret at the loss of the insignia by which the corps has been distinguished, and which has become a badge of honor.†

This consolidation separates me from the troops with whom I have been identified for the past eighteen months. I know, however, that the measure has been adopted solely with a view of promoting the interest of the service, and I would not have my personal interests or feelings, nor those of my command, considered for a moment against any measure having this object in view.

The credit accorded to the soldier at the present hour is not his true reward

* Subsequently changed by order of General Grant to Twentieth Corps.

† The badge of the Twelfth Corps was retained.

for the privation and hardships he is enduring, nor does this reward depend upon the army or corps to which he may be attached. Let us bring this contest to a successful termination; let us restore peace and prosperity to the country. To him who loves his country, the consciousness of the fact that he has borne his part in the contest, and been an instrument in the accomplishment of the great work, will be the highest and best reward that can be bestowed upon him.

The cordial and earnest support afforded me upon all occasions by the officers of my command, and the soldierly bearing and uniform good conduct of the men, have rendered me deeply attached to my corps, and I leave it with feelings of profound regret.

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General.

Official: H. C. RODGERS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Corps Number Changed Again.

On April 4, 1864, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were consolidated pursuant to General Order, No. 144, and the new organization was designated as the Twentieth. The divisions of Williams and Geary remained unchanged, aside from the accessions received from the Eleventh Corps. A third division was formed composed of two brigades of Western troops then on duty in Tennessee, and one brigade from the Eleventh Corps. The command of this Third Division was given to General Butterfield.* There was a fourth division, also, composed of Western troops, under General Rousseau; but this division was assigned to garrison duty in Tennessee and did not accompany the corps to the front. Few, if any, of the men in the corps knew that it had a Fourth Division; and it was not until the official records were published, long after the war, that some of them then learned for the first time of its existence.

The order for the consolidation as first issued provided that this new organization should be designated the First Army Corps. The one in the Army of the Potomac bearing that number had been consolidated with the Fifth, leaving its number vacant. But General Grant, who specified this number in his original order, changed his mind, and wrote Halleck, April 6, 1864, saying:

*Gen. Daniel Butterfield was born in Utica, N. Y., Oct. 31, 1831. Graduated at Union College in 1849. Colonel of 12th N. Y. S. M., May 2, 1861. Commissioned in Regular Army as lieut. col. 12th U. S. Infy., May 14, 1861. Appointed brig. gen. volunteers Sept. 7, 1861, and major general, Nov. 29, 1862. Commissioned colonel 5th U. S. Infy., July 1, 1863. Received Medal of Honor at Gaines' Mill, Va. Commanded 5th Corps at Fredericksburg. Was Chief of Staff, Army of Potomac, at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. Died July 17, 1901, in New York.

The Twentieth Corps

The First and Third Corps having been merged into other corps, with the possibility of being filled up hereafter and restored to their corps organization, I would like to have the number of Hooker's corps changed to the Twentieth Corps. It will cause dissatisfaction to give number One to any other but the old corps having that number. To retain either the number Eleven or Twelve will probably have the same effect with those losing their number.

U. S. GRANT,

Lieutenant-General.

General Grant was right in thus preventing the use of the name which the First Corps had already inscribed on the tablet of History. Aside from the injustice of the proposition the use of the same designation for two different corps would tend to some confusion in the records. And yet, in designating this new organization as the Twentieth he revived the defunct number of a corps in the Army of the Cumberland, which had been consolidated with another but a few months before. Grant was mistaken also in his statement that the retention of either title — Eleventh or Twelfth — would "probably" cause dissatisfaction. But when it was plainly shown to him that this was an error, as will be explained here, he neglected to correct it or to respect the wishes of the thousands of veteran soldiers interested in the matter.

The troops of the Twelfth Corps, whose designation had already been changed twice, protested against this needless juggling with their corps number. As the Twelfth they had won renown on the historic fields of Virginia and Tennessee; with a change of name they must begin a new and different record. The men in the Eleventh Corps objected to the designation Twentieth, preferring that the new command should wear the star badge and be known as the Twelfth.

On April 14, 1864, General Hooker sent the following communication to Headquarters, Army of the Cumberland:

Brigadier General WHIPPLE,

Chief of Staff, Chattanooga:

I think it would be more for the interests of the service to have the consolidated corps under my command known as the Twelfth Corps, instead of the Twentieth. Should it meet General Thomas's approval, I would like him to telegraph to General Sherman requesting, through him, the War Department to make the change. I have no personal interest in it, but think it very desir-

able for the troops. It would gratify the pride and wishes of the Twelfth Corps; the greater portion, in fact nearly all, of the Eleventh Corps unite with the Twelfth in the wish.* To the new division it is of course immaterial. I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOOKER,

Major-General.

On the following day General Thomas telegraphed Sherman, at Nashville, as follows:

Eleventh and Twelfth Corps unite in the request that the new corps be designated the Twelfth Corps instead of the Twentieth. As it would meet the wishes of all concerned, I would recommend that the designation of the new corps be changed from the Twentieth to the Twelfth.

GEO. H. THOMAS,

Major-General Commanding.

To this highly proper and reasonable request Sherman sent the following ungracious reply:

NASHVILLE, TENN., *April* 16, 1864.

General THOMAS,

Chattanooga:

I will telegraph to Washington about the title of Hooker's corps, but want him to go on with his organization regardless of the mere number which is an immaterial title. It will be better known as Hooker's corps than by its numerical designation.

W. T. SHERMAN,

Major-General.

And this, of course, was the end of the matter. A "mere number!" An "immaterial title!" Sherman evidently had but little conception of the military phrase *esprit de corps.* As corps badges were unknown in the Army of the Tennessee at this time, no attention was paid to a little matter of that kind, and so the star badge was retained, the proposition receiving the concurrence and approval of the Eleventh Corps. But the Twelfth Corps were

* In further relation to the generous action of the Eleventh Corps at this time, see Howard's letter to Halleck written several months previous (July 29, 1863), approving plan to merge this corps with the Second and Twelfth; also, Gordon to Howard, same date, asking that his division be transferred to the Twelfth; and letters of Meade, von Steinwehr, Schurz, Buschbeck, and Orland Smith. (Official Records, Vol. XXVII, Part III, pp. 778, 779, 784, 785, 792.)

embittered by the needless effacement of the name they had made so honorable, a feeling that still rankles in the breast of every veteran of that command.

The roster of the Twentieth Corps at the beginning of the Atlanta campaign, May 1, 1864, was:

TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS.

MAJ. GEN. JOSEPH HOOKER.*

MAJ. GEN. HENRY W. SLOCUM.

FIRST DIVISION (Red Star).

BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

First Brigade.

BRIG. GEN. JOSEPH F. KNIPE.

5th Connecticut,	Col. Warren W. Packer.
3rd Maryland (detachment),	Lieut. David Gore.
123rd New York,	Col. Archibald L. McDougall.†
141st New York,	Col. William K. Logie.†
46th Pennsylvania,	Col. James L. Selfridge.

Second Brigade.

BRIG. GEN. THOMAS H. RUGER.

27th Indiana,	Col. Silas Colgrove.
2nd Massachusetts,	Col. William Cogswell.
13th New Jersey,	Col. Ezra A. Carman.
107th New York,	Col. Nirom M. Crane.
150th New York,	Col. John H. Ketcham.
3rd Wisconsin,	Col. William Hawley.

Third Brigade.

COL. JAMES S. ROBINSON.

82nd Illinois,	Lieut. Col. Edward S. Salomon.
101st Illinois,	Lieut. Col. John B. Le Sage.
45th New York,	Col. Adolphus Dobke.
143rd New York,	Col. Horace Boughton.
61st Ohio,	Col. Stephen J. McGroarty.
82nd Ohio,	Lieut. Col. David Thompson.
31st Wisconsin,	Col. Francis H. West.

* General Hooker commanded the corps until July twenty-eighth; General A. S. Williams from July twenty-eighth to August twenty-seventh; and General Slocum from August twenty-seventh until his promotion to the command of the Army of Georgia.

† Killed in the Atlanta campaign.

The Twentieth Corps

Artillery.

1st New York, Battery I, -	Lieut. Charles E. Winegar.
1st New York, Battery M,	Capt. John D. Woodbury.

SECOND DIVISION (White Star).

BRIG. GEN. JOHN W. GEARY.

First Brigade.

COL. CHARLES CANDY.

5th Ohio,	Col. John H. Patrick.*
7th Ohio,	Lieut. Col. Samuel McClelland.
29th Ohio,	Col. William T. Fitch.
66th Ohio,	Lieut. Col. Eugene Powell.
28th Pennsylvania,	Lieut. Col. John Flynn.
147th Pennsylvania,	Col. Ario Pardee, Jr.

Second Brigade.

COL. ADOLPHUS BUSCHBECK.

33rd New Jersey,	Col. George W. Mindil.
119th New York,	Col. John T. Lockman.
134th New York,	Lieut. Col. Allan H. Jackson.
154th New York,	Col. Patrick H. Jones.
27th Pennsylvania,	Lieut. Col. August Riedt.
73rd Pennsylvania,	Maj. Charles C. Cresson.
109th Pennsylvania,	Capt. Frederick L. Gimber.

Third Brigade.

COL. DAVID IRELAND.

60th New York,	Col. Abel Godard.
78th New York,	Lieut. Col. Harvey S. Chatfield.
102nd New York,	Col. James C. Lane.
137th New York,	Lieut. Col. Koert S. Van Voorhis.
149th New York,	Lieut. Col. Charles B. Randall.*
29th Pennsylvania,	Col. William Rickards, Jr.
111th Pennsylvania,	Col. George A. Cobham, Jr.*

Artillery.

New York Light, 13th Battery,	Capt. William Wheeler.
Pennsylvania Light, Battery E,	Capt. James D. McGill.

* Killed in Atlanta campaign.

The Twentieth Corps

THIRD DIVISION (Blue Star).

MAJ. GEN. DANIEL BUTTERFIELD.

BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM T. WARD.

First Brigade.

BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM T. WARD.

102nd Illinois,	Col. Franklin C. Smith.
105th Illinois,	Col. Daniel Dustin.
129th Illinois,	Col. Henry Case.
70th Indiana,	Col. Benjamin Harrison.
79th Ohio,	Col. Henry G. Kennett.

Second Brigade.

COL. JOHN COBURN.

20th Connecticut,	Col. Samuel Ross.
33rd Indiana,	Maj. Lewin T. Miller.
85th Indiana,	Col. John P. Baird.
19th Michigan,	Col. Henry C. Gilbert.*
22nd Wisconsin,	Col. William L. Utley.

Third Brigade.

COL. JAMES WOOD, JR.

33rd Massachusetts,	Lieut. Col. Godfrey Rider, Jr.
136th New York,	Lieut. Col. Lester B. Faulkner.
55th Ohio,	Col. Charles B. Gambee.*
73rd Ohio,	Maj. Samuel H. Hurst.
26th Wisconsin,	Lieut. Col. Frederick C. Winkler.

Artillery.

1st Michigan Light, Battery I,	Capt. Luther R. Smith.
1st Ohio Light, Battery C,	Lieut. Jerome B. Stephens.

FOURTH DIVISION.

MAJ. GEN. L. H. ROUSSEAU.

First Brigade.

BRIG. GEN. R. S. GRANGER.

73rd Indiana,	Maj. Alfred B. Wade.
18th Michigan,	Col. Charles C. Doolittle.
102nd Ohio,	Col. William Given.
10th Tennessee,	Lieut. Col. James W. Scully.
13th Wisconsin,	Col. William P. Lyon.

* Killed in Atlanta campaign.

Unassigned.

83rd Illinois,	Capt. Joshua M. Snyder.
23rd Missouri,	Col. William P. Robinson.
58th New York,	Capt. Michael Esembaux.
68th New York,	Lieut. Col. Albert von Steinhausen.
71st Ohio,	Maj. James W. Carlin.
106th Ohio,	Maj. Lauritz Barentzen.
115th Ohio,	Col. Jackson A. Lucy.
75th Pennsylvania,	Lieut. Col. Alvin V. Matzdorf.
31st Wisconsin,*	Maj. Robert B. Stephenson.

On July 27, 1864, the six batteries were organized as an artillery brigade, and Maj. John A. Reynolds was assigned to its command. On August twenty-fifth, Battery K, Fifth United States Artillery, Capt. Edmund C. Bainbridge, joined the brigade.

At the beginning of the campaign the Twentieth Corps, not including its Fourth Division, numbered:

	Officers.	Enlisted men.	Aggregate.
Infantry,	895	18,898	19,793
Cavalry,	1	62	63
Artillery,	22	843	865
Total,	918	19,803	20,721

Two of the old regiments of the Twelfth Corps do not appear on the roster: the Tenth Maine Battalion left Tullahoma, March 2, 1864, having been transferred to the Department of the Gulf, where it was consolidated with the Twenty-ninth Maine, a command composed largely of the two-years men who had served in the Tenth Maine regiment; the One Hundred and Forty-fifth New York had been consolidated with other regiments from that State in Williams's Division, and its officers mustered out of service.

* Tranferred July 21, 1864, to Robinson's Brigade, First Division.

The Atlanta Campaign.

The regiments of Williams's Division received marching orders on April 27, 1864, and the next day they left the various stations which they occupied along the railroad, and started to join the army then assembling at Chattanooga. As the railroad was taxed to its utmost capacity in the transportation of supplies to the front the troops were ordered to proceed on foot.

The route was by Decherd, thence over a spur of the Cumberland Mountains by the University, through Sweden's Cove to Bridgeport. The descent of the mountain was by a rough, stony road, so steep and broken that ropes were necessary in easing the wagons down the hill. The column reached Bridgeport May first. The next day it was joined by Geary's Division, which had been encamped there and at Stevenson. Passing through Shellmound the troops encamped at Whitesides on the evening of the second, Geary on the third. Here the soldiers had an opportunity to see the high railroad bridge or trestle work which had just been rebuilt by an engineer regiment, and which was reported to be the highest one of its kind.

At Lookout Valley the new Third Division joined the corps, the blue star making its appearance here for the first time. The march continued by the military road over the north end of Lookout — with its grand view of mountain, river and plain — through Chattanooga, Rossville Gap, and over the battle field of Chickamauga.

At Gordon's Mills, where the Twentieth Corps was resting, General Hooker and his staff rode by, accompanied by General Sickles. The latter, who was then on an inspection tour of the western armies by order of President Lincoln, was strapped to his saddle, his crutches being carried by an orderly. At the sight of their corps commander, with the Gettysburg veteran riding at his side, the soldiers cheered enthusiastically and hurrahed for the Army of the Potomac.

May 5, 1864, was the date set for the general advance of both Grant's and Sherman's armies. At this time the latter had under his command three distinct armies — the Army of the Cumberland, under Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas; the Army of the Tennessee, Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson; and the Army of the Ohio, Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield. Their effective strength was:

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Aggregate.
Army of the Cumberland.				
Fourth Army Corps,	19,892		646	20,538
Fourteenth Army Corps,	21,876		820	22,696
Twentieth Army Corps,	19,793	63	865	20,721
Garrard's Cavalry Division,		4,662	136	4,798
McCook's Cavalry Division,		2,342	84	2,426
Kilpatrick's Cavalry Division,		1,759		1,759
Army of the Tennessee.				
Fifteenth Army Corps,	11,512	311	694	12,517
Sixteenth Army Corps,	10,796	367	700	11,863
Seventeenth Army Corps,*				
Army of the Ohio.				
Twenty-third Army Corps,	9,262		592	9,854
Stoneman's Cavalry,		2,951		2,951
Total,	93,131	12,455	4,537	110,123

Artillery — 254 guns.

In addition to this number Sherman was reinforced, June eighth, by two divisions of the Seventeenth Corps; and Long's Brigade of cavalry joined Garrard's Division about the same time. These accessions, Sherman says, compensated for his losses in battle up to that date, and for the detachments left behind at various points to guard the railroad.

The Confederate army, under command of Lieut. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, occupied a strong position in the mountainous region at Dalton, a station on the Western and Atlantic Railroad, thirty-eight miles south of Chattanooga. Its effective strength at the opening of the campaign was reported by Johnston at 44,900, including all arms of the service. It soon received large reinforcements, so that on June tenth its official returns showed the following strength, all of which had joined prior to May twentieth;

Effective total present,	60,564
Present for duty,	69,946
Aggregate present,	82,413
Pieces of artillery,	187

* Joined at Acworth, Ga., June 8, 1864. Effective strength (May 31), 9,786.

Although this statement is taken from the returns of June tenth, General Johnston's report indicates that this entire force, with the exception of Loring's Division (5,239 effectives), was present before any serious fighting occurred. The Confederate army consisted of three corps, commanded by Lieut. Gens. William J. Hardee, John B. Hood, and Leonidas Polk. There was a cavalry corps, also, numbering 10,903 effectives, under Maj. Gen. Joseph Wheeler. Both the Union and Confederate armies received accessions during the campaign, which to some extent offset their losses, and their relative strength remained about the same as at the start.

Sherman's plan of campaign was to attack in front wherever the enemy might be found, and at the same time, availing himself of his superior numbers, send a strong column to outflank his antagonist, menace his communications, and thus manœuvre him out of his position. As Atlanta was the objective point, the railroad leading from Chattanooga to that city was selected for the general direction of the route. It was the shortest line, and it afforded the best means of transportation as the forward movement of his army lengthened the distance from its base of supplies.

Johnston, by reason of inferiority in strength, was forced to adopt a defensive campaign. But he had a great advantage in the mountainous character of the region through which the railroad ran for the greater part of the way, affording a succession of strong defensive positions.

On May sixth, General Thomas, with the Army of the Cumberland, was on the railroad at Ringgold, occupying the centre; Schofield, with the Army of the Ohio, was on the left at Red Clay; and McPherson, with the Army of the Tennessee, held the right at Lee and Gordon's Mills.

The Confederate army lay at Dalton, with its advance strongly posted at Tunnel Hill and at Buzzard Roost, a mountain pass through which the railroad runs. Sherman was ready to begin offensive operations. He planned that while Thomas made a threatening demonstration at Tunnel Hill, Buzzard Roost, and Rocky Face Ridge, McPherson should move his army to the right, and by a detour through Snake Creek Gap seize Resaca, the next station on the railroad south of Dalton. This would compel Johnston to evacuate his well nigh impregnable position.

Rocky Face Ridge.

The Confederate position at Dalton was well protected on the north and west by the Chattoogata Mountain, a high, steep range, several miles in length. At its northern end the railroad passes over Tunnel Hill and thence through Buzzard Roost, a deep, narrow gorge, three miles northeast of Dalton. Three miles to the southeast of the town there is another pass in the range known as Mill Creek Gap, from the stream which here skirts its western base. It is called Dug Gap, also, the road to Dalton, which passes through it, having been constructed by digging away the side of the mountain in places. The western slope of the range at this place is called Rocky Face Ridge. It is steep, forest-covered, and for miles on either side of the pass is surmounted by a line of rocky palisades that present a perpendicular wall, unbroken except by a few narrow clefts or ravines, wide enough only to admit five or six men abreast.

Sherman's order to engage the attention of the enemy by a feint at Buzzard Roost and Rocky Face Ridge resulted in some hard fighting and serious losses. When a general receives an order to make a demonstration of this kind he is very apt, in the fulfillment of his instructions, to be on the lookout for some opportunity to convert the movement into a brilliant success. Furthermore, in such affairs some regiment always has to do hard fighting, and suffer as severe a loss as when facing the hot musketry of a general engagement.

On May eighth General Geary received the following order:

> March without delay to seize the gap in the Rocky Face Ridge called Babb's, and to establish yourself strongly at that point; take your two brigades and send word as soon as you are in position. Take no wagons and but few ambulances.

This explicit order calls for more work than would seem necessary for what "was only designed as a demonstration" by Sherman. But this was the way it read when it reached Geary. It specified two brigades because the Third Brigade (Ireland's) had been detached the day before to support Kilpatrick's cavalry in the movement to Villanow. The Confederates held the gap with Granbury's Brigade and a part of Reynolds's Brigade — both of Cleburne's Division — and Grigsby's Kentucky brigade of dismounted cavalry.

Geary moved his two brigades forward to the attack, crossing the creek at three p. m.,— Buschbeck on the right, Candy on the left. McGill's (formerly Knap's) Battery of three-inch Rodmans went

into position in a field near Babb's house, from where they could reach the crest of the ridge with their shells. The infantry unslung and piled their knapsacks preparatory to the ascent. The enemy's skirmishers were encountered half way up the mountain, where they had formed a strong line on its steep face, sheltered by rocks, trees, and logs, and from behind which they delivered a galling and destructive fire. But Geary's men pressed steadily forward, inflicting considerable loss on their opponents and driving them back to the foot of the palisades. It was a warm day; the air in the woods was hot and stifling; the climbing of the rough hillside was extremely fatiguing, and the main line of troops behind the advancing skirmishers were subjected to a severe fire from the top of the ridge.

A halt of fifteen minutes was made at the foot of the palisades, and then both brigades charged gallantly forward in an effort to seize the crest. The officers, taking the lead, led their men in broken detachments up the narrow ravines which furnished the only feasible access to the summit. Some of the troops tried to clamber up the precipice; but the Confederates rolled large stones over the edge that went plunging down the declivity and were as effective as artillery.

Geary reports that many of the soldiers gained the crest, but were met by a fire from a second line of works which was invisible from below. Encouraged by partial success and the sight of small groups of his men who had reached the top at different points, he ordered repeated assaults, although each was a failure. At evening he received official information that the flank movement by McPherson through Snake Creek Gap was successful. The object of Geary's "attack having been fully accomplished by securing the attention of the enemy" he "deemed further continuance of the action unnecessary, and decided to withdraw to the foot of the mountain."

In this fight the two brigades of Geary's Division lost 49 killed, 257 wounded, and 51 missing; total, 357. The regiments in which the largest number of casualties occurred were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
29th Ohio,	26	71	2	99
154th New York,	14	42	9	65
134th New York,	11	24	7	42

On the following day another attack was made on Rocky Face Ridge at Buzzard Roost, three miles north of Dug Gap, by Newton's Division of the Fourth Corps, but without success. Wood's Brigade of Butterfield's Division was actively engaged in skirmishing, on May eighth and ninth, near the same place.

Resaca.

The flank movement through Snake Creek Gap having been accomplished without opposition, Sherman moved all his forces over the same route except the Fourth Corps, which was left in front of Buzzard Roost. Johnston evacuated Dalton on the twelfth and fell back along the railroad to a fortified line, already constructed, covering Resaca and the bridge over the Oostenaula River.

The Twentieth Corps left its bivouac at Trickum Post Office at one a. m., May tenth, to take part in the turning movement. Snake Creek Gap, through which the troops marched, is a narrow defile, six miles long, lying between Rocky Face Ridge and Horn Mountain. Its high, precipitous sides, shutting out the sun except at midday, made it cold and damp. The tree trunks and rocks were green with moss. The turbulent creek, following the sinuous course which evidently suggested its name, had washed away the road until nothing but a mere semblance of a wheel track was left. This was the route which Sherman utilized in manœuvring Johnston out of the stronghold at Dalton.

The Twentieth Corps halted on the plain at the eastern end of the gap and bivouacked along the bank of the creek. At night a heavy rain storm, with thunder, lightning and wind occurred, a memorable one for the discomfort it caused. The shelter tents were blown down, and the creek soon overflowed the camp ground; many of the men, gathering up their clothes and other effects, betook themselves to higher ground until the rain ceased. On the thirteenth the corps moved forward to Camp Creek.

On May fourteenth Johnston held a semicircular line with his left flank resting on the Oostenaula and his right on the Conesauga River, a stream which joins the former at Resaca. The town is situated in the narrow angle formed by the junction of the two. Hood's Corps was on the right, Hardee's in the centre, and Polk's on the left. The railroad lay a short distance within the line, and nearly

parallel with it. A complete chain of intrenchments, previously constructed, covered the entire position.

Sherman's forces were formed with McPherson on the right, Thomas in the centre, and Schofield on the left. The Fourth Corps (Howard's), which had been left at Dalton, came up and was given a place on Schofield's left. During the day — May fourteenth — there was considerable fighting all along the line where the attacking forces sought to gain desirable positions.

In the afternoon the First Division of the Twentieth Corps was lying in a second line supporting Butterfield, whose skirmishers were actively engaged. At four-thirty p. m. Williams received orders to hasten as rapidly as possible to the extreme left, about three miles distant, where Stanley's Division of the Fourth Corps, Army of the Cumberland, was being strongly pressed by the enemy. The bugles blew "Attention," and the Red Star soldiers, who were resting quietly on the ground, sprang to their line of gun stacks. The column was put in motion immediately and moved off, left in front, at a rapid pace along a road that followed the summit of a ridge. The men as they pressed forward along this road could see, down in the valley to their right, the lines of the Twenty-third Corps, then hotly engaged in an assault on the enemy's lines.

In this march to the left Robinson's Brigade had the lead. Its arrival on the field was extremely opportune. Stanley's troops were falling back in confusion through the narrow open valley along the Dalton road. The enemy was in close pursuit, and the rebel yell could be heard above the roar of the musketry. Simonson's Fifth Indiana Battery was in position across the valley, and the Confederates made a rush to capture it. But its guns were well served, firing with a marvellous rapidity that partially checked the advance of the assailants. In the meantime Robinson deployed quickly along the ridge, descended its steep wooded slope into the open, and changing front forward on his right regiment delivered an effective volley in the face of the astonished enemy. The affair was soon over; the exultant Confederates retired as quickly as they came. Robinson says in his report that this evolution was executed with the same precision and regularity of movement that might have been expected on brigade drill.

During the fight the brigades of Ruger and Knipe formed on the slope in extension of Robinson's first position, but they did not move down into the valley, as their services were not needed. The men,

however, improved the opportunity as Stanley's fugitives came streaming up the hill and through the woods for a place of safety to ask them good naturedly what they thought of Hooker's men now. Even "Pap" Williams could not resist the temptation to even up matters when he had so good a chance. As the men of the broken line came swarming up the hill, and some of their officers appealed to him for assistance, he said, "Yes, yes, get your men out of the way. I have some soldiers here (slight emphasis on the word) from the Army of the Potomac who will take care of these rebels." *

The two other divisions of the corps followed Williams, and on the morning of the fifteenth Hooker's troops were massed on the left of the army, between the Dalton highway and the railroad. In the forenoon Hooker received orders to move forward with his entire corps and attack the enemy in his front. At one p. m. the three divisions advanced until they were within striking distance. Line was formed with Butterfield on the right, Geary next, then Williams. This part of the battlefield was broken up by hills and ridges, steep, rough, and thickly wooded. The portion of the front allotted to Hooker was so short that Butterfield formed his brigades in column by regiments; Geary had to mass his division in a single column by brigades, Ireland's in front.

These formations under the circumstances occupied much valuable time; and the hour of the actual assault was later. As Butterfield failed to make any report of his operations on the Atlanta campaign, it is difficult from the reports exclusively to reconcile some apparently conflicting statements found in the reports of his brigade commanders. All the reported incidents, however, are in harmony with the features of the battle as here stated.

To Butterfield's Division was assigned the duty of making the assault and carrying the enemy's works. To form a suitable column of attack required a knowledge of the ground to be passed over, and the positions of the enemy to be reached. While this was being ascertained Butterfield gave orders that Ward's Brigade, formed in battalion columns at intervals of forty paces between regiments, should lead in the attack. While charging it was to be supported on the right by the Second Brigade (under Coburn) and on the left by the Third Brigade (under Wood) each in echelon to the rear. It was discovered during these formations, made as far as possible under the concealment of the hills and woods, that the assaulting column

* Brown's History of the Twenty-seventh Indiana.

on emerging from the latter would be subjected in an open country to a cross fire as well as direct fire of the enemy. Colonel Wood commanding the Third Brigade, was therefore ordered to use his discretion in supporting Ward's Brigade, either by following up the latter or attacking independently on Ward's left. As events transpired, he used his command handsomely for both purposes.

Before the charge began the Second Brigade's (Coburn's) position was taken up near the foot of the last wooded hill preparatory to emerging on the plain when necessary to support the charge of Ward's Brigade. Before the signal was given to advance, an officer was sent to notify General Howard, commanding the Fourth Corps, whose intrenched lines were on Hooker's right and overlooked the open country and the enemy's lines, and General Howard replied that he would give the Twentieth Corps the hearty support of his whole command. General Geary was also notified to have his division well in hand to support the charging division; but the firing began before his formations had been completed.

Some of the troops in Ward's and Coburn's Brigades, although long in service, had never been in a general engagement. It happened, also, that the moment the leading brigade emerged upon the plain, the enemy's fire was too high and passed overhead until the ascent was reached. The fire, however, had plunged into the supporting Second Brigade, and so it became necessary that it should go forward. Meanwhile its front line, finding itself under fire, some of it shrapnel and canister, opened a rattling musketry fire to the dismay of the leading officers, and the unhappy fate of some of Ward's men who were almost upon the enemy's works.

Although this appalling occurrence was speedily abated it well nigh proved fatal; for at a critical period it arrested some of Ward's battalions and created confusion. Happily, however, the battle was not suspended. Coburn's Brigade was rushed forward to the support of the First Brigade, and Ward's regiments rallied and held to their work with remarkable fortitude; Ward himself, assisted by Capt. Paul A. Oliver, of Butterfield's staff, who accompanied this brigade to represent the division commander, rallying the troops with great gallantry.

Meanwhile Colonel Wood had wisely exercised the discretion reposed in him. His brigade attacked the enemy on Ward's immediate left, encountering troops of Stevenson's Division of Hood's Corps, and had pressed forward in good style; and although hampered at one time by some retreating regiments carried the crest of

the hilly range in its front. The vigor of this attack, and what its initial success threatened, had brought up heavy reinforcements for the enemy, and these when violently attacking the Twentieth Corps later in the afternoon were fortunately encountered by Williams's Division, resulting in a desperate renewal of the engagement with heavy losses to both sides, the troops of the Twentieth Corps, however, holding their own lines.

Meanwhile Ward's Brigade had reformed and again charged the earthworks in its front, one of which was occupied by Corput's (Ga.) Battery of four brass guns, light twelves supported by troops of Brown's Brigade. Ward in the first instance had directed, and now renewed, his assault against this position. At the same time a part of Ireland's Brigade, Geary's Division, made a rush for the same point. The two columns converging at the battery entered the redoubt, drove the artillerists back, and planted several colors inside the works. Some of the Confederates who refused to retreat or surrender were bayonetted at the guns.

There has been considerable dispute between Geary's and Butterfield's men as to which division or brigade was entitled to the honor of capturing this battery. Col. Benjamin Harrison,* Seventieth Indiana, who commanded the leading battalion in Ward's Brigade, says in his official report that his "regiment entered the enemy's works in advance of all others," and that his "colors, though not planted, were the first to enter the fort." The One Hundred and Second Illinois, the second regiment in Ward's column, placed its flag in the fort and captured several prisoners, including the captain of the battery. Colonel Coburn states that the Nineteenth Michigan and Twenty-second Wisconsin, of his brigade, also planted their colors inside the works. Sergeant Hess, color bearer of the One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Illinois, Ward's Brigade, was killed in the fort; and Captain Woeltge, One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania, Ireland's Brigade, fell dead inside the works just as he laid his hand on one of the guns. The charge of Ward's Brigade was led, as has been mentioned, by Capt. Paul A. Oliver of Butterfield's staff, and that of Coburn's Brigade by Maj. Henry E. Tremain of Sickles's staff, who had been serving in the campaign as a volunteer aide for Butterfield. Each of these aides-de-camp received a Medal of Honor for gallant and distinguished services in this engagement. General Sickles, then inspector-general of the army, was an inter-

* Afterwards President of the United States.

ested spectator of the fighting, and occupied himself in cheering on the Potomac veterans, in whose success he took an especial pride.

The captured lunette occupied a circular depression in the ridge, with a line of intrenchments extending from it on either side and one at a short distance in the rear. When Ward's troops entered it they encountered a deadly fire from the Confederate infantry posted in the second line of works and on both flanks. The men who had secured a foothold inside the battery, finding the position untenable, were obliged to relinquish their prize temporarily and seek safety in retreat. But some troops of Ireland's Brigade secured a lodgment immediately under the muzzles of the guns, with their colors planted in the earth thrown up to form the redoubt, while other regiments of this command occupied the crest of a hill near by. From this vantage ground they directed an effective fire at short range through the embrasures, preventing the enemy from reoccupying the fort. At the same time, Ireland's men were unable to enter the works, and so the guns stood silent and unmanned during the rest of the battle. In the night the troops in front of the fort, under the direction of Colonel Cobham, One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania, dug away the earth below the embrasures, and attaching ropes to the muzzles of the cannons drew them out and sent them to Geary's headquarters.

While all this was going on Williams was maintaining a well-contested battle farther to the left, with Stewart's Division, of Hood's Corps. The repeated attacks of the enemy along this portion of the line were successfully repulsed by Knipe's and Ruger's Brigades. In one of these affairs the Twenty-seventh Indiana, under the personal lead of the veteran Colgrove, captured the colors of the Thirty-eighth Alabama,* together with the colonel and many prisoners. On this flag were inscribed the names Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and Tunnel Hill. The Fifth Ohio, of Geary's Division, also captured a battleflag in this engagement.

The action was well sustained by the Twentieth Corps along the entire front. Col. S. E. Pittman, of the First Division staff, says that during the heat of the battle when, by General Williams's order, he asked General Hooker to send support to the right of the division, Hooker burst out with the exclamation, "Captain, I never before saw such fighting. It is splendid. It is grand." Surely, if

* General Slocum states in his official report that the colors taken by the Twenty-seventh Indiana at Resaca was the battleflag of the Thirty-second and Fifty-eighth Alabama (consolidated) regiment, and that it was captured by Capt. T. J. Box and Private E. White, of Company D.

any man ever had opportunities to judge of what good fighting was, General Joseph Hooker was that man.

The casualties in the Union Army at Resaca were about 3,500, as indicated by the returns of the various subordinate commands. Sherman made no statement of his losses in this battle. The casualties in the Twentieth Corps — May fourteenth and fifteenth — were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
First Division,	48	366	3	417
Second Division,	23	215	28	266
Third Division,	159	857	4	1,020
Total,	230	1,438	35	1,703

The regiments sustaining the heaviest losses numerically were:

REGIMENT.	Division.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
70th Indiana,	Butterfield's,	26	130		156
102nd Illinois,	Butterfield's,	21	95		116
141st New York,	Williams's,	15	77		92
55th Ohio,	Butterfield's,	18	72	1	91
136th New York,	Butterfield's,	12	70	-	82
19th Michigan,	Butterfield's,	14	66		80
22nd Wisconsin,	Butterfield's,	11	56	1	68
29th Pennsylvania,	Geary's,	6	50	-	56

Among the killed were Col. Henry C. Gilbert, Nineteenth Michigan; Col. Charles B. Gambee, Fifty-fifth Ohio; Lieut. Col. E. F. Lloyd, One Hundred and Nineteenth New York; Major Robbins, Fifty-fifth Ohio; and Lieutenant Knipe of General Knipe's staff. Chaplain Springer of the Third Wisconsin was mortally wounded; and among the Confederate dead in front of this regiment lay the body of Chaplain McMullen, of Baker's Brigade. The Church Militant was well represented on both sides in the Civil War.*

That night Johnston withdrew his army across the Oostenaula, destroying the bridges behind him. He retreated along the line of the railroad through Calhoun, Adairsville, and Kingston to a strongly

* For list of chaplains killed in the Union armies during the war, see "Regimental Losses in the Civil War," pp. 43–45. By William F. Fox. Albany: Brandow Ptg. Co. 1888.

intrenched line at Cassville. Sherman's troops followed closely, skirmishing briskly with the enemy's rear guard at various points on the way.

The continued rehearsal here of tactical manœuvres is not only tiresome to the reader, but it fails to give a proper impression of the varied incidents that occur on every battlefield, and so some extracts from the regimental histories may give a better idea of the nature of the fighting and the character of the American soldier. The History of the Fifth Connecticut contains the following pathetic story of an incident at Resaca:* "At first the artillery firing at this line was extremely high and wild, and served only to amuse the men; but by degrees they depressed their guns more and more and their shells came nearer, till finally, just as the rebel line came out of the woods to make the second charge, a shell came and struck the line in Company I, taking off the top of the head of James E. Richards in the front rank, and passing along down his back passed under the rear rank man, John Bates, bursting when it was about under the center of his body. Bates and Richards were, of course, killed outright by it, and four others were wounded by the pieces of the shell and pieces of the skull from Richards. Corp. Wm. H. Kerr had several pieces of the skull driven into his face, also Private James Tuttle's face was filled, and Tommy Graham, from fragments of the shell or skull, had both eyes cut out of his head and then left hanging on his cheek. Lieutenant Stewart, commanding Company I, sprang up and helped to pull the dead men, Richards and Bates, to the rear from their places in the line in order to fill the gap with living fighting men, for the rebel column was coming on again charging and yelling. He saw that Tommy Graham could not see at all, and that while Corporal Kerr's face was badly cut up, he still had his eyesight remaining. He asked the corporal if he could see well enough to take himself to the rear and lead Tommy, totally blinded as he was. He said he thought he could, and thereupon the lieutenant told Graham to go to the rear with Kerr and started them off; but Tommy had not moved two steps to the rear before he stopped and cried out, 'Lieutenant, Lieutenant, what will I do with my gun?' and the brave man did not stir a step farther until his officer had come to him and taken his gun and relieved him from this final responsibility.

* History of the Fifth Connecticut, by Capt. Edwin E. Marvin. Hartford, Conn.: Wiley, Waterman & Eaton. 1889.

"If this picture could be imagined as it was, and as the comrades of poor Tommy saw it, then something of the true stuff of the man could be conceived; artillery roaring from all directions — shells screeching past, and now coming so low that every one of them ricocheted along the ground and raked the earth from front to rear; a yelling line of rebels fast coming towards him; his eyes just closed forever to all the beauties of this earth and the glories of the skies, never to behold wife or children again. And still, when ordered to the rear in care of another, he stood there with those sightless eyes dangling at his cheeks, calling upon his officer to relieve him of his trusty gun, the last obligation remaining upon him, as he understood his duty to his country as a soldier. Whoever can imagine this scene as it was, will understand something of the truth and faithfulness of the nature of such private soldiers as Thomas Graham."

Another, and a cheerful incident, is related by the historian of the Twenty-seventh Indiana: "It was here at Resaca also that Captain Balsley's Irishman, Dan, got the best of the provost guards. On the way, somewhere, when coming from the Eastern army, Captain Balsley had recruited a fresh arrival from over the briny deep. The older members of the company had tormented the raw recruit not a little by telling him, among other things, that it was a very dreadful thing to go into a battle, and that he would be sure to get panicky in the first fight and run away. This probably stimulated him to do his best and show them a thing or two. In the counter-assault upon the Alabamians Dan was, therefore, in the front rank. Spying a rebel behind a tree he rushed up and seized hold of him. With vigorous jerks and kicks and many loud demonstrations of triumph and satisfaction, he brought him to the captain. The captain, in turn, ordered Dan to take his prisoner to the rear, which he proceeded to do with much pride and pomp.

"Back some distance Dan encountered the provost guard, with a line duly established, both to take care of prisoners and to prevent able-bodied soldiers from running out of the fight. 'Halt, there!' they said to Dan. 'Halt the divil,' said Dan. 'Captain Balsley he tould me to tak this mon to the rear, so he did.' But they persisted. 'Halt! We'll take care of the prisoner; just leave him with us.' 'To hell wid yees,' roared Dan. But, as if willing to oblige them all he could, waving his hand back in the direction from which he had come and where the fighting was still in progress, he

ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF RESACA.

View from rear of Confederate line showing earthworks occupied by the guns of Corput's (Ga.) Battery, which were captured in an assault by troops of the Twentieth Corps. The trees standing on the mounds have grown up since the battle.

said in his blandest tones, 'There's plenty ov 'em right over there. If yees want wun, jist step over and get wun for yer'self.' "

On the day following the battle of Resaca the Twentieth Corps advanced and crossed the Conesauga above the town; on the seventeenth it crossed the Coosawattee, and, keeping to the east of the railroad, marched that day to a point near Calhoun; May eighteenth the corps moved to Spring Mills, a place southeast of Adairsville, and bivouacked that night on the so-called Gravelly Plateau. On the nineteenth the march continued over a rough country, covered with woods and dense thickets of underbrush. After some lively skirmishing, principally by Butterfield's men, the corps reached Cassville at night, where it formed line within 400 yards of the enemy's breastworks.

During the night Johnston retreated. He had intended to make a stand at Cassville and risk a general engagement there, as the position was naturally a strong one. But two of his corps commanders — Hood and Polk — expressed doubts as to their ability to hold the line of their respective fronts, and so the Confederate leader reluctantly withdrew and fell back beyond the Etowah River to the Allatoona hills. Sherman did not follow; he had a better plan. He gave his armies a rest here of three days, utilizing the time in accumulating a store of supplies for his next movement.

New Hope Church.

Sherman's armies had marched and fought their way eighty-five miles since leaving Chattanooga. Atlanta was still fifty-three miles distant. Johnston had just been reinforced by Loring's Division of Hood's Corps, and his forces numbered more than at the beginning of the campaign. He was also nearer his base of supplies. Sherman, who was personally familiar with the topography of the Allatoona range and the strong defensive advantages which it afforded his opponent, decided to make a wide detour to the west by way of Dallas and gain the railroad at Marietta or some other point south of this stronghold. As he would have to cut loose from the railroad in making this movement, he ordered twenty days' rations placed in his wagon trains, and on the twenty-third started on the march which was to manœuvre Johnston out of the position at Allatoona.

While at Cassville the Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, Colonel Buschbeck, went home, its term of service having expired. Col. John T. Lockman, of the One Hundred and Nineteenth New York, succeeded to the command of Buschbeck's Brigade.

Hooker's Corps, leaving Cassville on May twenty-third, crossed the Etowah (Hightower, as the natives called it) on a pontoon bridge near Milam's and bivouacked that night along the Euharlie and Raccoon Creeks; on the twenty-fourth, after marching all day over mountain roads and by-paths, the corps encamped at Burnt Hickory in a heavy rain storm.

On May twenty-fifth the corps was under orders to march to Dallas. But Johnston, having received early information of Sherman's movement, hurried his army westward through the forests and established it on a ridge that lay across the route of the hostile columns. Hooker's three divisions were moving by different roads in the direction of Dallas and had crossed Pumpkin Vine Creek, when orders were received to march to New Hope Church, where Geary's skirmishers had developed the presence of the enemy in force. This place is situated at an intersection of the roads leading to Dallas, Marietta, and Acworth, four miles northeast of Dallas. It takes its name from a little Methodist meeting house, built of logs, that stood there then. As the junction of these roads formed an important point, it was already occupied and intrenched by Stewart's Division of Hood's Corps. The country about it was hilly and densely wooded.

Williams's Division had halted for dinner within ten miles of Dallas, when it received the order to countermarch and hasten to the support of Geary. As the column moved off again, faced to the rear, the veterans in the ranks were heard to remark, "Left in front! There will be a fight soon,"—one of the traditions in the old Twelfth Corps. Recrossing the creek, the troops marched rapidly for five miles until, at five p. m., they came up with Geary's and Butterfield's Divisions massed on a road leading to New Hope Church.

Geary's first intimation of the presence of the enemy was a burning bridge on Pumpkin Vine Creek at Owen's Mills, where he arrived about eleven a. m. His skirmishers drove back the enemy's vedettes a mile or more until they reached Hawkins's house, where serious opposition was encountered. Candy's Brigade, deployed in

line of battle and supported by the two other brigades of the division, pressed forward, driving the Confederates back half a mile further. Sherman, who was present, ordered Hooker to advance and seize the cross roads at New Hope Church. But Hooker, believing that the enemy was present in full force, asked permission to wait for the arrival of his two other divisions, which was granted. From the prisoners captured in the skirmishing it was soon learned that Hood's entire corps was in front at New Hope Church, and that Hardee's Corps was at Dallas, four miles to the west, all of which proved to be true.

At five p. m. Williams's Division arrived, and forming on Geary's left went into action immediately without halting for the men to recover breath. The three brigades under Williams deployed in three supporting lines, Robinson in front, then Ruger, with Knipe last. Advancing on the double-quick the strong skirmish line of the enemy, and then his reserves, were driven back a mile and a half by Williams. Part of the ground passed over was covered with woods in which the timber had been killed by girdling the trees, and as the solid shot and shells from the Confederate batteries went crashing through the dead tops the broken limbs and splinters fell thickly on the charging ranks. During this advance the order came for the Second Brigade to relieve the line in front and take the lead. In executing this manœuvre Robinson's regiments moved "By companies to the rear," Ruger's men advancing through the openings to the front. The evolution was performed under fire, but with steadiness and precision.

The column pressed forward again through the dense woods until a sudden discharge of artillery and musketry disclosed the main line of the Confederates, strongly posted behind formidable breastworks, their position having been previously concealed by the foliage and thick underbrush. The advancing regiments of Ruger's Brigade met this unexpected, deadly fire without flinching, although the men went down by scores; but they were forced to halt. Holding their ground manfully they returned the fire rapidly, keeping it up until their ammunition was exhausted, when they were relieved by a part of Knipe's Brigade and, later, by Robinson. Night was near, a heavy rain was falling and a thunder storm with its black cloud deepened the gloom of the forest, in which the hostile lines were now plainly marked by the red flash of rifles and blaze of cannon.

Geary's Division advanced to the assault about six p. m., and relieving some of Williams's troops fought its way through a storm of bullets and canister up to the enemy's breastworks where it also was compelled to halt. Geary says in his report — written September fourteenth — that, "The discharges of canister and shell from the enemy were heavier than in any other battle of this campaign in which my command was engaged." A portion of Butterfield's Division relieved Knipe's Brigade and continued the fighting well into the night despite the rain and darkness.

Though the attack was unsuccessful there was no confusion in Hooker's lines, no falling back of the charging columns. The troops along the farthest points of advance held their places during the night, and threw up intrenchments, in some places within eighty yards of the enemy's works.

Stewart's Confederate Division, which had been repulsed by the Red Stars at Resaca, had evened up the score; the assailants and assailed had changed places. Johnston, who had been censured for evacuating strong positions without giving battle, had silenced his unfriendly critics for awhile.

In this battle the heaviest losses fell to the lot of Ruger's Brigade, especially on the One Hundred and Seventh New York, Col. N. M. Crane, which gallantly held an exposed position in front of a battery on the road. General Ruger, who was conspicuous in this action by the gallant manner in which he handled his troops, reports that the dead of his brigade lay nearest the enemy's works.

The battle of New Hope Church was fought entirely by the Twentieth Corps. No other troops participated. Hooker's losses in this engagement were as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Williams's Division	86	638	146	870
Geary's Division	26	291	59	376
Butterfield's Division	34	285	99	418
Headquarters	1			1
Total	147	1,214	304	1,665

The loss in Ruger's Brigade was—killed, 46; wounded, 314; missing, 1; total, 361. The regiments sustaining the greatest loss numerically were:

REGIMENT.	Division.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
107th New York	Williams's	22	*147		169
3rd Wisconsin	Williams's	14	97		111
101st Illinois	Williams's	12	63		75
73rd Ohio	Butterfield's	11	58	3	72
82nd Illinois	Williams's	11	59		70
82nd Ohio	Williams's	11	53		64
46th Pennsylvania	Williams's	8	53	3	64
5th Ohio	Geary's	7	51		58

* Of this number, 24 died of their wounds.

The corps sustained a serious loss in this battle by the deaths of Col. John H. Patrick, Fifth Ohio, and Col. Archibald L. McDougall, One Hundred and Twenty-third New York. The former was mortally wounded by a canister shot; the latter, who was shot while gallantly leading his men, died soon after of his injuries in a hospital at Chattanooga.

During the next six days Hooker's troops pressed the enemy closely. Additional works were thrown up in which artillery was planted. A line of individual rifle pits, each protected by short logs placed in the shape of a V with its apex to the front, was constructed. Day and night the forest echoed with the crack of rifles as the opposing pickets plied their deadly work, the daily loss in killed and wounded being unusually severe. The soldiers called the place "Hell Hole," and always mentioned it afterwards by that name.

Two days after the battle the Fourth Corps (Howard) made an attempt to turn the Confederate right, in which it encountered Cleburne's Division near Pickett's Mill, a place about three miles east of New Hope Church. Howard met with a disastrous repulse. One of his divisions alone (Wood's) reported a loss in this affair of 1,457, the greatest loss in any division during the entire Atlanta campaign. Sherman makes no mention of this engagement in his official report; neither does he allude to it in his "Memoirs." In

the Confederate reports Johnston says that his troops fought at New Hope Church and Pickett's Mill without intrenchments. But this statement is true only in part, as shown in the official reports of Generals Cleburne and Stewart.

On June first the Twentieth Corps was relieved by the Army of the Tennessee, after which it moved to the left as far as Pickett's Mill Creek; on the fifth it went five miles farther to the left across Allatoona Creek. Sherman, while holding his ground firmly along the enemy's front, was now passing various corps by the rear to the left and east, thus extending his line until he reached the railroad again at Acworth. The Confederate position at Allatoona was thus successfully turned.

The Seventh Ohio Infantry was relieved June eleventh, and ordered home to be mustered out of service, its term of enlistment having expired. This regiment had made a brilliant record in the war, and was highly regarded throughout the entire corps.

Pine Hill.

On the thirteenth Hooker's command was in position at the northern base of Pine Hill, two miles from the railroad station at Big Shanty. When Johnston found that his opponent's lines had been extended to the railroad he evacuated his intrenchments at Dallas and New Hope Church, and concentrated his forces in front of Marietta. He constructed a chain of earthworks running from Kenesaw Mountain, on his right, westward to Lost Mountain on his left. His line ran in the rear of Pine Hill, a steep, conical peak, which was occupied by the Confederates as an outpost and point of observation. The summit was only 800 yards from the artillery of the Twentieth Corps, posted at its base.

On the fourteenth a group of Confederate generals, among them Johnston, Hardee and Polk, were standing near a battery on the summit examining through their field-glasses the lines of their opponents in the adjacent valley. The party was in plain view of the troops on Thomas's line, although not individually recognizable. When Sherman saw them he gave orders that the batteries near him should train the guns on the party and fire by volley. At the second discharge one of the shells struck General Polk in the breast, killing him instantly.

The Confederates abandoned their works on Pine Hill that night, and the place was immediately occupied by some of the besieging forces. On the fifteenth Hooker pushed forward with his corps, past and beyond this elevation, until the main line of the enemy's works was reached. Here he formed for an assault, Geary and Butterfield in front, with Williams in support. At two-fifteen p. m. the columns advanced, and, encountering the enemy, immediately drove him into his intrenchments. These works had been carefully constructed, and were unusually strong. They were protected in front by felled trees, tops to the front, forming an abatis, behind which a *chevaux de frise* had been placed at various points. The works were manned by Cleburne's Division. Geary's troops penetrated the abatis in places, but were unable to carry the position. The attack failed; but the assaulting lines maintained their advanced position close under the enemy's works and threw up intrenchments there.

This engagement near Pine Hill — June fifteenth — is known also as the battle of Lost Mountain. In it the Twentieth Corps lost 734, killed and wounded. The casualties in the Second Division were 82 killed, 432 wounded, and 5 missing; total, 519. The First Division reported 90 casualties, and the Third Division 125. Of the regimental commandants present, Colonel Rickards (Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania), Major Stegman (One Hundred and Second New York), Major Cresson (Seventy-third Pennsylvania), and Captain Gimber (One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania) were wounded; and Maj. Eli A. Griffin (Nineteenth Michigan) was killed.

On the following day Hooker's forces pressed the enemy strongly all along his front with skirmishers and artillery fire. Butterfield's men did considerable hard fighting, and in one lively affair near Gilgal Church, or Golgotha, the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin captured the colors of a regiment in Cleburne's Division.

The long line of the Federal armies now overlapped that of the enemy on his left. On the seventeenth the Confederates evacuated their works at Lost Mountain and retired within the defenses at Kenesaw. Johnston's line was now a semicircular one, with its right covering the railroad; thence it curved to the west and south until it reached the railroad again, including within its intrenchments Kenesaw Mountain and Marietta. Sherman held an outer or parallel line, with McPherson on his left at the railroad, Thomas

in the centre, and Schofield on the right, but not extending to the railroad again on the south.

Throughout the entire campaign thus far the troops had suffered from the unusual, prolonged rains. The number of rainy days following the battle of New Hope Church was phenomenal; it not only added to bodily discomfort, but it made the marching toilsome, while at the same time the swollen streams and miry roads rendered the movement of artillery and wagon trains exceedingly difficult. There were several days in which, owing to the absence of commissary trains, the soldiers were on scant rations or could get nothing at all to eat.

From the seventeenth to the twenty-first, the Twentieth Corps was engaged in pushing its way southward, and extending the general line in that direction. There was considerable skirmishing and fighting, men being killed or wounded by the score each day. On the seventeenth Hooker's artillery, under Major Reynolds, achieved further and honorable distinction at Muddy Creek. Wheeler's (Thirteenth New York) Battery, commanded by Lieutenant Bundy, here opened at 400 yards on the enemy's works, silencing his guns, dismounting two pieces, and knocking two more end over end. Considerable loss was inflicted, also, on the Confederate infantry which were in support. At Noyes's Creek, June nineteenth, there was some more lively skirmishing, in which the sharpshooters of both sides did some effective work.

Kolb's Farm.

The Twentieth Corps established itself on the twenty-first along the Powder Springs and Marietta road, about three miles southeast of the latter place. An important hill near the Kolb house was seized, the enemy making fruitless efforts to regain it. Williams's Division was massed by brigades in the woods on Kolb's farm, Ruger on the right, Knipe in the centre, and Robinson on the left. The ground in front was for the most part open fields. Geary's Division joined Williams's left; Butterfield was in reserve. Schofield's (Twenty-third) Corps continued the line to the right. Winegar's three-inch rifles, in front of Robinson, and Woodbury's brass smooth bores in front of Knipe, commanded all the open ground in front of Williams. At four p. m. Stevenson's Division, of Hood's

Corps, made a sortie from their works, emerging from the woods at a rapid pace as they raised their charging yell. They advanced in three lines. Woodbury opened on their close ranks with rapid discharges of canister from his 12-pounder Napoleons, that threw them into a confused mass, while volleys of musketry from Knipe's Brigade and regiments on Ruger's left also told fearfully on the disordered ranks of the assailants.

Another column of Hood's troops that came out of the woods into the field on Williams's left was checked by the shrapnel from Winegar's guns and Geary's artillery, and a severe infantry fire was directed against them from every available point. With broken and disordered lines the defeated Confederates retreated to the cover of the woods. No further attempt was made by them against Williams's front. But a portion of the charging column which was sheltered by a ravine, together with some other troops that had advanced under cover of the woods, attacked Knipe's left and made a bold effort to turn his flank. This movement was frustrated by some of Robinson's regiments, assisted by the fire from Winegar's Battery. Hood's forces retired to the protection of their works, leaving the ground behind them thickly strewn with the bodies of their killed and wounded.

In this engagement Hooker sustained comparatively slight loss, while the casualties in Hood's command, as reported in the Atlanta newspapers, were over 1,000. Still, the Twentieth Corps had to mourn the loss of some good men. Among the dead lay Captain Wheeler of the artillery, a gallant and accomplished officer, and Maj. D. C. Beckett, Sixty-first Ohio, who was also among the killed.

General Williams states that his losses at Kolb's Farm did not exceed 130 men. Geary reported his casualties for the period from June seventeenth to twenty-eighth — which includes the fighting of the Second Division at Muddy Creek, Noyes's Creek, Kolb's House, and Kenesaw — as amounting to 28 killed, 240 wounded, and 2 missing; total, 270.

General Butterfield, having obtained a leave of absence on account of ill-health, left June twenty-ninth, and Gen. William T. Ward succeeded to the command of the Third Division by right of seniority.

On June twenty-seventh a grand assault was made on John-

ston's intrenchments at Kenesaw Mountain; but the Twentieth Corps did not participate actively in this battle. The troops engaged met with the most disastrous repulse of the entire campaign. The losses aggregated over 2,500 men. Generals McCook and Harker were killed while bravely leading the assaulting columns.

Thomas wrote Sherman at the close of this action: "We have already lost heavily to-day without gaining any material advantage; one or two more such assaults would use up this army." It would seem that Sherman's experience at Chickasaw Bluff and Missionary Ridge would have made him wary about sacrificing his men in an attack on a strongly fortified position like that of Kenesaw Mountain. He explains in his report that, "An army must not settle down to a single mode of offense," and that he "wanted, therefore, for the moral effect, to make a successful assault against the enemy behind his breastworks." Surely the troops that assaulted the Confederate positions at Rocky Face Ridge, New Hope Church, Pickett's Mill, and Lost Mountain did not need to make any more frontal attacks for "moral effect." But, a series of flank movements makes dull history; the story of a storming column furnishes better reading and confers greater renown.

"Satisfied of the bloody cost of attacking intrenched lines," as Sherman phrases it in his "Memoirs," he resumed his former tactics, and ordered a flank movement to the Chattahoochee River. Johnston, anticipating this, evacuated Kenesaw Mountain July second, abandoning Marietta and the railroad as far as that point. The Confederates, after making a brief stand at Smyrna and again near Vining's Station, fell back to the line of the Chattahoochee River. On the ninth they crossed the river, burning the railroad bridge, pontoons, and trestle bridge.

In the general forward movement of Sherman's armies after the evacuation of Kenesaw, the Twentieth Corps arrived, July fifth, in front of the Chattahoochee. Going into position on a high ridge overlooking the Confederate line, Hooker's men caught their first view of Atlanta, "The Gate City of the South." The goal was now in sight.

The next day the corps crossed Nickajack Creek, and on the ninth its pickets advanced to the bank of the Chattahoochee. The Twentieth Corps remained encamped here quietly for eight days, although other parts of the army were engaged on active movements.

As soon as the men occupied the bank of the river they established friendly relations with the pickets on the farther side. The veterans who had served in the Twelfth Corps, remembering the temporary truce they had arranged while on the Rappahannock, entered into an agreement with their opponents to suspend all unnecessary firing on each other. It is related that one day while the pickets were idly standing on each side of the river in their respective places, a Confederate officer rode up and ordered his men to fire on the Yanks across the stream. But the Johnnies refused to violate their agreement. It was further understood that when hostilities were resumed by either side, the first volley should be fired in the air. The peaceful time that ensued was a grateful relief from the incessant discharge of rifles on the picket line which had been kept up daily in one place or another since the opening of the campaign. Were it not for the occasional sound of distant cannon there was nothing to remind the soldiers that they were still on an active campaign.

In his interesting history of the Twenty-seventh Indiana, the author narrates the following incident: "During our truce with the rebel pickets along the Chattahoochee, members of the Twenty-seventh became in a measure intimate with a lieutenant and a number of his men, belonging to the Tenth Georgia (Confederate) regiment. The privilege of bathing in the river was freely accorded to both sides, and there was quite a little interchange of courtesies, as well as commodities, between our boys and these Southern youths. Warm hearted, full of fun, ready to give or take a joke, never harsh or ill-tempered in their language, in all, except their uniforms, they seemed one with ourselves. But while our association with them was in progress we received orders to march. The next day we crossed the Chattahoochee and, the third day after crossing, we took part in the battle of Peach Tree Creek. After it was over we found the names of the Georgia lieutenant and several of his men on the head boards marking the graves of those killed in front of our regiment. The thirty years and more that have gone over our heads since then have not entirely removed the pain which we have always felt when recalling this episode of war."

The cool, rainy spell in June was now succeeded by a period of intense heat. The air was filled with swarms of insects that interfered in no small degree with the comfort of the camp. Still the men had no difficulty in passing away the time. They "ate black-

berries and slept for a week." They further improved the opportunity by ridding themselves of the vermin — *pedicula* — that infested the clothes of nearly every one, both officers and men. No amount of attention to one's person, or the most scrupulous cleanliness of clothes and body, would ensure immunity from the pest. But the soldiers, fortunately, had one sure remedy. Stripping themselves naked, they put every article of clothing in camp kettles filled with hot water, and boiled the garments until every particle of life was extinct. Bryant,* in describing this phase of army life says: "To see fully 500 naked men scattered along the river bank attending to boiling clothes, while about 500 more naked soldiers were scattered in groups or playing cards in the shade of the trees, all vigorously applying a brush of bushes to ward off the attacks of the winged insects of a southern forest, while above their heads, flaunting and drying in the summer breeze, were garments of varied hue and shape — altogether it was a sight to provoke a smile from even the gods of war." Another regimental historian, telling of the same scene, remarks that, "A sudden call to march would have found whole battalions, if not brigades, in a stark condition of nativity."

Breaking camp on the seventeenth the Twentieth Corps crossed the Chattahoochee at Pace's Ferry on the pontoon bridge. On the eighteenth it crossed Nancy's Creek and occupied a position on the Buckhead Road. Geary's Division advanced on the nineteenth to Peach Tree Creek, a stream about twenty feet wide, with marshy shores and muddy bottom. There was no road, bridge, or ford on Geary's front, and the opposite bank was held by the enemy. Twelve pieces of artillery and a strong skirmish line opened fire on the Confederates, under cover of which the pioneers of the Second Division constructed a footbridge. Ireland's Brigade filed across it on the double-quick, formed line, and attacked so promptly that the surprised Confederates fled, leaving their intrenching tools behind and twenty-three of their number prisoners. In the night two more bridges were thrown across the creek, and roads to them were made for the artillery and wagon trains. The next morning the two other divisions passed over.

* History of the Third Wisconsin.

Peach Tree Creek.

General Johnston received a telegram July eighteenth from the Confederate Secretary of War, informing him that as he "had failed to arrest the advance of the enemy to the vicinity of Atlanta," and expressed no confidence that "he could defeat or repel him," he was relieved from his command, which he was instructed to turn over immediately to General Hood. This was an important incident in the campaign. The reasons assigned for relieving Johnston made it imperative on Hood to assume offensive operations or, at least, to force the fighting. His "effective strength" at this time, as stated in his report, amounted to 48,750 men — infantry, artillery, and cavalry. The change in the Confederate plan of campaign became apparent immediately.

Two days later — July twentieth — Hooker's Corps had advanced about one mile south of Peach Tree Creek, when Williams's Division was halted near a group of deserted houses on a road which joined, at a point one mile farther on, with the road from Pace's Ferry at the house of H. Embry. Geary, coming up soon after, formed on Williams's left, but some distance in advance; Ward's (formerly Butterfield's) Division went into position still farther to the left, in open ground beyond a small stream called Early's Creek. On the right of Hooker lay the Fourteenth Corps; and on his left, the Fourth Corps.

Williams's Division was formed with Knipe on the right, Robinson on the left, and Ruger in the rear. Geary occupied high ground, with Candy's and Jones's Brigades, in rear of which Ireland lay in support. Ward's line was held by Harrison, Coburn, and Wood, in the same order from right to left. Portions of the corps artillery were placed in advantageous positions along the front.

About three-thirty p. m. Hardee's and Stewart's Corps came swarming out of their intrenchments, and delivered a sudden and unexpected attack on the Twentieth Corps. The first onset was directed against Ward's left. The sound of the musketry gave Geary and Williams warning to prepare for the assault which soon followed on their own front. The ground occupied by Hooker's line was broken in places by ravines along which regiments were refused — as termed in military phraseology. As the Confederates pressed forward through these ravines they encountered a terrible enfilade from the regiments thus posted.

Geary's advanced position left his right exposed. A proper connection with Williams had not been made before the fight began. Some of Geary's right regiments, attacked suddenly on flank and rear, gave way, leaving a section of the Thirteenth New York Battery, Captain Bundy, in an isolated, unprotected situation. The gunners were killed or driven from their pieces. Two non-commissioned officers fell dead, one with nine and the other with seven bullet wounds. But Bundy wheeled his remaining guns to the right, and using canister checked the advance of the Confederates until some of Geary's troops could regain the ground. The One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania and Fifth Ohio received special mention in the reports for the steadiness with which they maintained their position when a part of the line was broken, and for the gallantry displayed in saving the artillery from capture.

As the Confederates gained temporary advantages by the peculiar, broken formation of the ground, various regiments in Geary's Division changed front forward to right or left to meet these movements of the charging columns, repulsing them each time with a deadly fire that had a disheartening effect on the enemy.

One Confederate brigade made a bold dash up the ravine between Williams and the Fourteenth Corps. But this move was defeated by the right regiment of Knipe's Brigade (Forty-sixth Pennsylvania) and one (Twenty-seventh Indiana) sent by Ruger to Knipe's assistance. The One Hundred and Fifth Illinois, of Robinson's Brigade, captured the flag of the Twelfth Louisiana. The enemy exerted his strongest pressure against Knipe's front, but without avail; not a regiment yielded a foot of ground. The musketry along the Red Star line was furious and well sustained. Some of the men loaded and fired so fast that their rifles became overheated — so hot that the barrel could not be grasped in the soldier's hand. The historian of the One Hundred and Twenty-third New York says that "Corporal Smith's gun went off while he was in the act of ramming home a cartridge, and John had to hunt around and find another ramrod."

Ward's Division, on which the first attack was made, not only repulsed the enemy, but, advancing under fire, crossed the ravine on Ward's left, seized a hill in front, and established connection with Newton's Division of the Fourth Corps. Ward's troops took four stands of colors from the Confederates in this action. Private

Buckley, of the One Hundred and Thirty-sixth New York, captured the battle-flag of the Thirty-first Mississippi by knocking down the color bearer with the butt of a musket and wrenching the flagstaff from his hands. For this act Buckley was awarded a medal of honor. The Twenty-sixth Wisconsin, of this same division, bore off in triumph the colors of the Thirty-third Mississippi.

After three hours of desperate fighting the enemy retired discomfited and beaten, leaving hundreds of their dead and wounded lying on the ground.

General Geary says in his report of this battle: "The field everywhere bore marks of the extreme severity of the conflict, and recalled to my mind, in appearance, the scene of conflict where the same division (Geary's) fought at Gettysburg. Not a tree or bush within our range but bore the scars of battle. The appearance of the enemy as they charged upon our front across the clear field was magnificent. Rarely has such a sight been presented in battle. Pouring out from the woods they advanced in immense brown and gray masses (not lines), with flags and banners, many of them new and beautiful, while their general and staff officers were in plain view, with drawn sabres flashing in the light, galloping here and there as they urged their troops on to the charge. The rebel troops also seemed to rush forward with more than customary nerve and heartiness in the attack. This grand charge was Hood's inaugural, and his army came upon us that day full of high hope, confident that the small force in their front could not withstand them; but their ardor and confidence were soon shaken."

The brunt of the fighting at Peach Tree Creek fell with slight exception entirely on the Twentieth Corps. Its losses in this battle were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Williams's Division	119	458	3	580
Geary's Division	82	229	*165	476
Ward's Division	94	447	10	551
Total	295	1,134	178	1,607

* Captured while on picket line or as skirmishers.

The regiments sustaining the greatest percentage of loss cannot be determined, as most of the commandants neglected to state the number of men carried into action. Without this information the comparative losses cannot be ascertained. The regiments returning the largest number of casualties, irrespective of their number in action, and including losses on the twenty-first and twenty-second, were:

		Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
46th Pennsylvania	Williams's	25	101	2	128
33rd Indiana	Ward's	18	73		91
141st New York	Williams's	15	65		80
61st Ohio	Williams's	13	66	2	81
5th Connecticut	Williams's	23	52	1	76
29th Pennsylvania	Geary's	11	32	32	75
33rd New Jersey	Geary's	15	20	36	71
129th Illinois	Ward's	12	52		64
82nd Ohio	Williams's	12	45	5	62
79th Ohio	Ward's	10	48		58
123rd New York	Williams's	12	37		49

With such hard fighting there was, necessarily, a serious loss among the field officers, who everywhere led their men with a gallantry that conduced materially to the victory achieved on this occasion by the Star Corps. Among the killed or mortally wounded lay Col. W. K. Logie, One Hundred and Forty-first New York; Col. George A. Cobham, One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania; Lieut. Col. W. H. H. Bown, Sixty-first Ohio; Lieut. Col. Charles B. Randall, One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York; Maj. Lathrop Baldwin, One Hundred and Seventh New York; and Capt. Thomas H. Elliott, Assistant Adjutant General, of General Geary's staff. A large number of field officers were wounded also. The One Hundred and Forty-first New York, in addition to the death of its young colonel, lost its lieutenant-colonel, major, and adjutant, each wounded so severely as to be incapacitated for further service.

The next day was spent in burying the dead and caring for the wounded. Geary reported that 409 of the enemy's dead were buried on the field by a fatigue party from his division.

On the morning of the twenty-second Hooker advanced his corps, moving through the woods across a rough, broken country in the direction of Atlanta. After marching a mile or so the troops crossed the strong fortifications evacuated by the enemy during the previous night. These works had been constructed for the outer defenses of the city. There was some brisk skirmishing, in which the Confederate pickets were driven into the main intrenchments around Atlanta. By night the Twentieth Corps succeeded in establishing itself in a position two miles from the centre of the city.

This same day — July twenty-second — General Hood, undeterred by his bloody repulse at Peach Tree Creek, made another sally in which he attacked the Army of the Tennessee. The battle that ensued was one of the most important in the series of engagements since the army left Chattanooga. The Western troops, although attacked while in a disadvantageous position, fought with a courageous spirit that sent Hood's forces, broken and defeated, back within the defenses of the town. General McPherson, while reconnoitring the enemy's front, unaccompanied except by a member of his staff, rode into a party of hostile pickets, and was killed at the beginning of the engagement.

Sherman says in his Memoirs that he "purposely allowed the Army of the Tennessee to fight this battle almost unaided because" he "knew that if any assistance was rendered by either of the other armies, the Army of the Tennessee would be jealous." His losses in this battle amounted to 3,521, killed, wounded, and missing.

General Hooker now expected that he would be appointed to the command of the three corps constituting the Army of the Tennessee — the vacancy caused by McPherson's death. He felt that his previous service on so many of the historic fields of the war, together with the fact that he had commanded the Army of the Potomac at one time, would entitle him to the place. But Sherman says "his chances were not even considered." Generals Logan and Blair, commanding respectively the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps of the Army of the Tennessee, were each aspirants for the place. But Sherman says he "regarded both as 'volunteers,' that looked to personal fame and glory as auxiliary and secondary to their political ambitions, and not as professional soldiers." General Howard, of the Fourth Corps, was selected "as the best officer who was

present and available for the purpose." Hooker interpreted this appointment of a junior officer as meaning that there was nothing further in the future for him in the way of promotion or favorable consideration. He accordingly sent the following communication to general headquarters:

NEAR ATLANTA, GA., *July* 27, 1864.

SIR. — I have just learned that Major General Howard, my junior, has been assigned to the command of the Army of the Tennessee. If this is the case I request that I may be relieved from duty with this army. Justice and self-respect alike require my removal from an army in which rank and service are ignored. I should like to have my personal staff relieved with me.

JOSEPH HOOKER,

Major-General.

It would seem that Hooker's action was not premature, for on the same day Sherman sent a despatch which read as follows:

July 27, 1864.

GENERAL THOMAS. — Send me the papers about Hooker to-night, and make specific recommendations to fill the vacancies. Make Hooker resign his post as commander of the Twentieth Corps, that he cannot claim it and occasion delay in filling the vacancy. W. T. SHERMAN,

Major-General.

Hooker's request to be relieved was granted. General Slocum was ordered to leave Vicksburg and come to Atlanta to take command of the Twentieth Corps. On July twenty-eighth Hooker turned the command over to General Williams, who was directed by General Sherman to exercise its duties until the arrival of Slocum. Hooker's soldiers heard the news of his departure with regret, for he had won the confidence and admiration of every man that had served under him in this campaign.

Siege of Atlanta.

The siege of Atlanta — if it may be called such — was now fairly under way. The city was too large to be completely invested, and so the approaches were made on the north and west only.

On July twenty-fifth the Army of the Tennessee still held the left, near the railroad to Decatur, where it fought the battle of the

twenty-second; the Army of the Ohio came next; and then the Army of the Cumberland — Fourth, Twentieth and Fourteenth Corps in the order named. The Twentieth Corps lay northwest of the city on either side of the Chattanooga Railroad (Western and Atlantic), a position which it occupied during the entire siege.

But on the twenty-fifth the Army of the Tennessee was transferred to the extreme right; and a week later the Army of the Ohio (Schofield) was moved to the right also, extending the lines still farther in that direction. The investing forces now lay on the north and west of the city, as before stated. A continuous line of strong earthworks was constructed by the troops while under fire, close to and parallel with the fortifications of the enemy. The besieging forces occupied a front of over five miles. The picket firing was incessant for awhile, and the 20-pounder Parrotts of the artillery, from the cover of well-constructed parapets, threw shells at short intervals into the city.

On July twenty-seventh, the Thirteenth New Jersey, Col. E. A. Carman (Williams's Division), distinguished itself in an attack on the enemy's line — something in the nature of a forlorn hope. On a knoll in front of this regiment stood three buildings, within the enemy's skirmish line and only a short distance in front of his fortifications. These houses were occupied by sharpshooters who kept up an annoying fire on the pickets. Twenty volunteers were called for, who, provided with combustibles, were to burn the houses while the regiment engaged the enemy. The call was promptly responded to. From the breastworks of the Twentieth Corps thousands of soldiers watched the Thirteenth as it formed line, with the little party of house burners in its rear, preparatory to its dangerous task. At the word of command the regiment moved forward in fine style, seized the rifle pits, captured officers and men, and, advancing under the fire from the Confederate works, took a position which it held until the houses were in flames. The Jerseymen then fell back to the cover of their intrenchments amid the cheers of the admiring spectators, having sustained a smaller loss than was expected.

Hood made another sortie July twenty-eighth, attacking the right flank of the Army of the Tennessee, which was then extending its line southward near Ezra Church. The Confederates were quickly repulsed, Howard's troops losing 572 in this engagement. August fifth and sixth, Schofield's troops, assisted by a portion of

the Fourteenth Corps, advanced their lines on the extreme right, bringing on another minor engagement known as the battle of Utoy Creek.

Along the front of the Twentieth Corps the men had constructed earthworks of great strength, within 350 yards of the enemy's guns. At some points the distance between the main lines was still less. These earthworks were sixteen feet or more in thickness at the base, four feet high on the outer front, and about seven feet wide on top. Logs, ten or more inches in diameter, were placed along the top of the parapet, resting on blocks of wood which formed openings that enabled the men to fire, while the logs protected their heads from the bullets of the enemy's sharpshooters.

Each side maintained a line of vedettes or pickets 200 feet or more in advance of its trenches or forts. While on this duty the soldier occupied a protected place, usually a separate pit in which he crouched all day behind the earth or logs thrown up in front. Any careless exposure of the head or body was almost sure to result in a wound or death. The opposing picket lines were so near together that the men conversed with ease, and owing to the short range could be changed only at night. When a man went on duty in this advanced line he took his rations with him, for he knew he would not be relieved for twenty-four hours.

In the main trenches the soldiers, when not engaged in firing, found shelter in the deep, broad, level excavation from which the earth had been thrown up to form the parapet. Still, several men were killed or wounded daily. If a man's head was seen above the edge of the works it became instantly a mark for the Confederate pickets, and many a soldier in the trenches lost life or limb through carelessness in this respect. As the Twentieth Corps occupied a front of two and a half miles, the losses during the siege were severe. At one time the pickets of both sides entered into an agreement to suspend firing, due notice to be given when, owing to orders, it became necessary to resume. But the line was occasionally advanced at some point to improve the position, when there would be a sudden outbreak and the bullets went humming everywhere again until quiet was restored.

General Sherman ordered a battery of four and one-half inch rifled cannon (30-pounders) from Chattanooga, which was placed on Geary's front. The Confederates replied to these pieces with

still heavier ordnance. At times the heavy guns on the Twentieth Corps front fired at short intervals day and night, and when darkness set in the burning fuses of the shells passing to and from the city afforded a fascinating display of pyrotechnics. Fires broke out repeatedly in the centre of the city, accompanied by the ringing of bells and cries of "fire" that were plainly heard in the lines of the besieging army.

The weather was intensely warm. But the men in the trenches erected coverings of pine boughs that furnished a grateful shade until orders came that these obstructions must be removed — a wise precaution, but one that occasioned considerable grumbling. The Twentieth Corps was composed of veteran troops whose long and varied experience in the field enabled them to adapt themselves readily to circumstances and conditions of most any kind, and so despite the heat and swarming insects and dangers of the siege the men passed a fairly comfortable time.

Though 290 miles from its base of supplies at Nashville, Sherman's troops were better supplied with rations and clothing than was Pope's army in front of Washington. There was another and equally important source of comfort to the men,— the mails arrived regularly, and each regimental chaplain had the pleasure daily of distributing a batch of letters and express parcels among the expectant soldiers gathered round his tent.

There were no drills or parades. When not on picket the men spent their time in writing letters, card playing, reading newspapers, cooking, eating, smoking, or sleeping. If there was nothing else to occupy their attention they watched the artillery practice of some favorite battery, noting eagerly the explosion of the shells in or about the particular building aimed at by the gunners. There was always some danger from random bullets and fragments of exploding shells; but the men became so accustomed to the sound of these missiles that they manifested an indifference akin to rashness. In one place a negro waiter who was in attendance on an officers' mess at dinner was shot through the heart; but "it did not delay the meal."

And then there were quiet, happy times as well. When evening came and the picket firing had ceased, the men retired to the slopes behind the trenches where they could listen to the music of the brigade bands. Here and there a chaplain gathered a group of the faithful for an hour of prayer and religious conference. Everywhere

at evening the men joined in singing hymns and ballads — reminders of home and peace. At intervals, from across the valley came the sound of music on the night air where the Confederate soldiers were also singing hymns or southern war songs — and "all sang Annie Laurie."

But the city was too large to be invested on all sides; its works were too strong to be carried by assault. The siege had continued over a month without any material progress. The railroads entering Atlanta on the south were still intact and in operation for transporting supplies and troops.

There were the usual cavalry raids on the enemy's communications, with the usual fruitless results and the usual heavy loss in prisoners. In August, General McCook, with his division of mounted troops, made a raid on the Macon Railroad at Lovejoy's Station, tore up a piece of track, and was surrounded at Newman where he was roughly handled by Gen. Joe Wheeler. In extricating himself McCook lost over 600 men, most of them captured. Stoneman, with his cavalry, attempted a raid on Macon, in which he was captured, together with one of his brigades, while his two other brigades made their way back to Atlanta in detachments, one of them "perfectly demoralized," as described in the official report. Then Kilpatrick tried it. Sherman says: "Kilpatrick got off during the night of the eighteenth, and returned to us on the twenty-second, having made the complete circuit of Atlanta. He reported that he had destroyed three miles of the railroad about Jonesboro, which he reckoned would take ten days to repair. On the twenty-third, however, we saw trains coming into Atlanta from the south, when I became more than ever convinced that cavalry could not or would not work hard enough to disable a railroad properly, and therefore resolved at once to proceed to the execution of my original plan." The original plan referred to was to "reach it with the main army."

There was only one way to capture Atlanta — there must be another flanking movement. The railroads south of the city must be destroyed so effectually that Hood would have to come out and fight. So on August twenty-sixth Sherman raised the siege. The Twentieth Corps was sent back to the Chattahoochee River to hold the bridges and railroads at that point. The main army, provisioned for twenty days, moved to the south of Atlanta and destroyed the West Point Railroad thoroughly for several miles, and

then, turning eastward, seized the Macon Railroad, August thirty-first, at the station called Rough and Ready.

To meet this movement Hood sent Hardee's and S. D. Lee's Corps to Jonesboro, on the Macon Railroad, twenty-two miles south of Atlanta. These troops attacked the Fifteenth Corps on the thirty-first and were repulsed, after which Lee's Corps returned to Atlanta. Hardee then took up a fortified position at Jonesboro, from which he was driven the next day by the Fourteenth Corps. Hardee retreated south along the railroad to Lovejoy's Station, where he was joined September second by the remainder of Hood's Army.

The Evacuation of Atlanta.

While the fighting was going on south of Atlanta the Twentieth Corps was still encamped on the banks of the Chattahoochee, seven miles northwest of the city. General Slocum arrived August twenty-seventh and assumed command, his appearance being greeted with enthusiastic cheers as he rode through the camps. While at the Chattahoochee occasional attacks were made by small bands of Confederate cavalry, which were easily repulsed without any serious fighting.

On the night of September first heavy explosions were heard in the direction of Atlanta that sounded like the discharge of artillery in a general engagement. The uproar continued two hours, during which the whole camp was aroused, the men listening intently and discussing the cause. Many of them argued that Sherman was making a night attack on the defenses of the city. As subsequently learned, the enemy in their preparations to evacuate the place, destroyed eighty-one cars loaded with ammunition.

General Slocum, suspecting the cause of these explosions, promptly ordered a reconnoissance in the direction of Atlanta, to be made by a detachment from each division. The detail from the First Division — three regiments under Col. N. M. Crane, One Hundred and Seventh New York — starting early the next morning found the enemy's works abandoned, whereupon word was immediately sent to Slocum informing him that the city was evacuated. In the meantime the detail from the Third Division, composed of 900 men under Col. John Coburn, entered the town at nine a. m. They were met in the suburbs by Mayor Calhoun, who surrendered the city to Colonel Coburn, saying "he only asked

protection for persons and property." The reconnoitring party from the Second Division, under Lieutenant Colonel Walker, One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania, coming in on another street, were the first to reach the City Hall, on which the colors of the Sixtieth New York and One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania were immediately hoisted. During the day the rest of the corps moved into the city, and occupied the abandoned earthworks. Some of the regiments, in accordance with orders, marched through the streets to the public square, with flags flying, bands playing, and the men in cadenced step.

General Slocum, with his staff, occupied a house on the square, which was used also for corps headquarters. Colonel Cogswell, Second Massachusetts, was appointed post-commandant, and Lieutenant Colonel Morse, of the same regiment, provost-marshal. On the eighth, General Sherman returned with the main army, which encamped at various points not far from the city.

The Twentieth Corps, after leaving Chattanooga, had been marching and fighting for 121 days, with only one short interval of rest. Though not in front all this time there was scarcely a day that it was away from the sound of artillery or picket firing. It had fought in six general engagements while on this campaign, and for weeks had been in front of the enemy's breastworks or in the trenches, losing men daily in killed and wounded while on this duty.

General Sherman's losses on the Atlanta campaign, as stated by him, aggregated 4,990 killed, 22,822 wounded, and 3,875 missing; total, 31,687.* A careful study of the Confederate records indicates that their losses were about the same, not so many in killed and wounded, but a greater number of missing or prisoners.

The Twentieth Corps sustained the greatest loss in action of any corps engaged in these operations, both numerically and in percent-

* Sherman's Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 133. But his figures differ materially from the official casualty returns made by the three army commanders in September, 1864, which are as follows:

ARMY.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Cumberland	3,305	16,756	2,746	22,807
Tennessee	1,448	6,993	1,873	10,314
Ohio	531	2,378	1,060	3,969
Total	5,284	26,127	5,679	37,090

age. The casualties by corps as stated by General Sherman in his Memoirs were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Army of the Cumberland.				
Fourth Corps	1,121	4,300	339	5,760
Fourteenth Corps	1,095	5,014	166	6,275
Twentieth Corps	1,044	5,912	461	7,417
Army of the Tennessee.				
Fifteenth Corps	401	2,538	633	3,572
Sixteenth Corps	376	1,525	99	2,000
Seventeenth Corps	422	1,674	1,088	3,184
Army of the Ohio.				
Twenty-third Corps	491	1,565	81	2,137
Cavalry	40	294	1,008	1,342
Total	4,990	22,822	3,875	31,687

The casualties in the Twentieth Corps were divided about equally among the three divisions. The regiments sustaining the greatest losses were:

REGIMENT.	Division.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
46th Pennsylvania	First	41	223	7	271
70th Indiana	Third	38	231		269
33rd Indiana	Third	29	209		238
19th Michigan	Third	34	191	5	230
107th New York	First	35	180	3	218
141st New York	First	36	175	5	216
33rd New Jersey	Second	42	155	15	212
111th Pennsylvania	Second	32	141	38	211
28th Pennsylvania	Second	17	181	1	199
3rd Wisconsin	First	23	164	5	192
22nd Wisconsin	Third	27	154		181
129th Illinois	Third	29	147		176
149th New York	Second	36	134	10	180
5th Connecticut	First	30	145		175
27th Indiana	First	20	154		174
79th Ohio	Third	21	147	4	172
102nd Illinois	Third	27	137	1	165
29th Pennsylvania	Second	35	126		161
123rd New York	First	20	107	17	144
61st Ohio	First	23	112	2	137
82nd Ohio	First	32	98		130

In the Twentieth Corps 342 officers were killed or wounded.

The campaign over, there was the usual distribution of rewards. At Sherman's request two brigadiers — Osterhaus and Hovey — were made major generals, and eight colonels were promoted to the rank of brigadier. None of these favors, however, fell to the lot of the Twentieth Corps. And yet, there was a brigadier in that organization whose commission was dated in May, 1861, who had served three years at the front as a division general, and who had commanded a corps with marked ability at Antietam and Gettysburg; and there were veteran colonels who had commanded brigades on the Atlanta campaign and before, rendering meritorious service on every occasion.

Slocum's Corps remained in Atlanta over two months, during which the soldiers were well housed, well fed, and had a pleasant time. As soon as they entered the city they confiscated the contents of the large tobacco warehouses. There was a profusion of plug and fine cut in the camps, and, discarding their briar wood pipes, everyone smoked cigars for awhile — all this to the detriment of the sutler, who regarded it with discomposure and lamented audibly the lack of discipline that permitted the looting of tobacco shops.

New clothing was drawn. Drills, guard-mounting, and dress parades were resumed; and the fine bands of Ruger's Brigade and the Thirty-third Massachusetts played each evening in the public square. General Slocum held division reviews, and as the troops marched past he noted with evident pleasure the veteran regiments that fought under him at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. There was work to be done also. As the Confederate defenses about the city were too extensive to be held successfully by a single army corps, an inner line of works, shortened so as to require less men, was constructed by parties detailed from each division.

The paymaster having arrived, the men drew eight months' pay and sent most of it home, the rest going to the sutler or to the more skillful poker players. Some of the soldiers would organize a mess, take their rations to some house, and get a woman to cook for them — not that she could cook any better, but because the boys wanted the privilege of sitting at a table, eating from clean white plates, and drinking from coffee cups. At the Opera House nightly entertainments were given by a "variety" troupe composed of talent selected from the soldiers of the garrison.

One evening when the band of the Thirty-third Massachusetts was serenading General Sherman he suggested that it give a concert in the theatre for the benefit of Mrs. Welch, the widow of the late Masonic Grand Master of the State, whose house he was occupying, and who had been left destitute by the war. The band, in compliance with the general's kindly suggestion, gave a vocal and instrumental entertainment that was an artistic and financial success. Some Atlanta ladies, friends of the beneficiary, assisted in the vocal numbers on the program. From the old printed program, still preserved, it appears that the band gave the Soldiers' Chorus as one of its selections, indicating that it was up to date with its music, for Gounod's Faust was brought out only a year or so before. "Then a play was put on the stage. The theatre had a great run till the very last night before the march, when the receipts were $667. The season lasted four weeks — seventeen nights — and the band took in $8,000 in all. It gave $2,000 to Mrs. Welch, and out of the balance kept enough to pay its members the amount due from the officers to the end of their three years' enlistment." * And this is one of the ways in which the soldiers of the Star Corps amused themselves when not engaged in fighting.

Some changes in the corps roster occurred about this time. While at the Chattahoochee, on the day Slocum's Corps entered Atlanta, the Twenty-seventh Indiana went home, its three-years term of enlistment having expired. This regiment was composed of fighting material that had no superior in all the Federal armies. It had made a most heroic record at Antietam, Gettysburg, and many other battles of the war, and when it left the front Ruger's men felt that their brigade had lost its strong right arm. General Ruger, one of the most competent officers of his rank in the service, also left the corps soon after, having been promoted to the command of a division in the Twenty-third Corps. The Seventy-eighth New York, Col. Herbert Hammerstein, was transferred to the One Hundred and Second New York, Hammerstein retaining his colonelcy. A large regiment — Thirty-first Wisconsin — joined Robinson's Brigade July twenty-first, exchanging places with the Forty-fifth New York, a German regiment, which was sent to Nashville. Col. David Ireland, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh New York, com-

* The Thirty-third Massachusetts. By Gen. Adin B. Underwood, A. M. Boston: Williams & Co. 1881.

manding Third Brigade, Second Division, died of disease September tenth, and was succeeded by Col. Henry A. Barnum. Colonel Ireland was an officer in the Regular Army, holding a commission as captain in the Fifteenth United States Infantry. After General Greene was wounded Ireland commanded the Third Brigade at Lookout Mountain and on the Atlanta campaign, achieving honorable distinction in each battle by his gallant conduct and skillful handling of his troops.

The battalion of the Third Maryland composed of men who did not re-enlist went home for muster-out. But enough men in this regiment re-enlisted to preserve its organization, and they had gone home previously on a veteran furlough. They did not rejoin the corps, but were ordered to the Army of the Potomac. Going to the front in Virginia, they arrived there while one of the battles at Spotsylvania was in progress. Joining Leasure's Brigade, Ninth Corps, they went into action immediately. At the sudden unexpected appearance of this regiment — the men still wearing the red star on their cap — a shout of welcome ran along the firing line, and the glad cry was raised, "The Twelfth Corps has returned." But the Star Corps that day was fighting on the Resaca Hills, a thousand miles away.

Soon after the occupation of the city, General Sherman, for military reasons, ordered all the families remaining in the place to leave. He provided railway transportation south as far as Rough and Ready. As the railroad beyond that station had been torn up for several miles, General Hood sent wagon trains to this point, in which the refugees and their personal effects were transported to Lovejoy's Station, where they could take cars again for such other places as they might choose. This work having been accomplished, Hood started northward with his troops to operate against Sherman's line of communication.

October third Sherman took his entire army, with the exception of Slocum's Corps, and started northward in pursuit of Hood. Sherman was absent from Atlanta on this expedition six weeks. He followed Hood as far north as Resaca and Lafayette. Then, turning back to conform to the movements of his wily adversary, he moved down the valley of the Chattooga River to its junction with the Coosa, establishing his headquarters at Gaylesville. Sherman was unable to force Hood into a general engagement, and, aside from

a few attacks on railroad garrisons, there was no fighting except at Allatoona Pass, where one of Hood's Divisions (French's) met with a bloody repulse. This post was heroically and successfully defended by an inferior force under command of Gen. John M. Corse. It was during this action that Sherman signaled the memorable despatch: "Hold the fort; I am coming."

During the absence of Sherman's Army Slocum's troops in Atlanta were on short rations for a few days, owing to raids on the Chattanooga Railroad. But foraging parties were immediately sent out, some fifteen miles or so to the eastward, which soon returned with 500 wagons loaded with forage, corn, and potatoes, together with an abundant supply of fresh pork, mutton, and poultry. Another train of 800 wagons went out October twenty-third which came back loaded, principally with corn. This latter supply was needed to put the "beef on the hoof" in proper condition for killing. But the railroad was soon repaired, after which there was no further scarcity of food or lack of variety.

Sherman finding it impossible to bring Hood to bay left two corps — Fourth and Twenty-third — under Thomas to take care of the Confederate Army, wherever it might go, and then returned with the remainder of his forces to Atlanta.

The sick and the feeble, together with all non-combatants, were sent to the rear, leaving none but able-bodied veterans at the front. On November twelfth the last railroad train for the North left Atlanta, and the track was torn up for many miles as soon as it passed. Sherman had burned his bridges behind him.

The March to the Sea.

General Sherman was now ready to put in execution the plan which he had conceived and been considering carefully a long time. He intended to abandon Atlanta entirely, march eastward through central Georgia, seize Savannah, and establish there a new base of supplies.

For this purpose he organized his forces in two subordinate armies. One, designated the Right Wing, under General Howard, was composed of the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps;* the other, or Left Wing, under General Slocum, was composed of the Four-

* The two divisions of the Sixteenth Corps had been broken up and distributed to the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps.

teenth and Twentieth Corps. The Right Wing retained its name — Army of the Tennessee; the Left Wing was subsequently designated the Army of Georgia. In addition there was a division of cavalry under General Kilpatrick. These combined forces numbered 55,329 infantry, 5,063 cavalry, and 1,812 artillery; total, 62,204.

There were 65 pieces of artillery, each gun, caisson, and forge drawn by eight horses. In the trains there were 2,500 wagons and 600 ambulances, the wagon train of each corps being five miles long when on the road. A pontoon train of canvas boats accompanied each corps. As each bridge train had a capacity of 900 feet, either wing of the army could span a river 1,800 feet wide by combining its two trains.

The Twentieth Corps numbered 14,292 officers and men, present for duty. Its organization at this time was:

TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS.

BRIG. GEN. ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS.

FIRST DIVISION.

BRIG. GEN. NATHANIEL J. JACKSON.

First Brigade.

COL. JAMES L. SELFRIDGE.

5th Connecticut,	Lieut. Col. Henry W. Daboll.
123rd New York,	Lieut. Col. James C. Rogers.
141st New York,	Capt. William Merrill.
46th Pennsylvania,	Maj. Patrick Griffith.

Second Brigade.

COL. EZRA A. CARMAN.

2nd Massachusetts,	Col. William Cogswell.
13th New Jersey,	Maj. Frederick H. Harris.
107th New York,	Maj. Charles J. Fox.
150th New York,	Maj. Alfred B. Smith.
3rd Wisconsin,	Col. William Hawley.

Third Brigade.

COL. JAMES S. ROBINSON.

82nd Illinois,	Maj. Ferdinand H. Rolshausen.
101st Illinois,	Lieut. Col. John B. Le Sage.
143rd New York,	Lieut. Col. Hezekiah Watkins.
61st Ohio,	Capt. John Garrett.
82nd Ohio,	Lieut. Col. David Thompson.
31st Wisconsin,	Col. Francis H. West.

The Twentieth Corps

Second Division.

Brig. Gen. John W. Geary.

First Brigade.

Col. Ario Pardee, Jr.

5th	Ohio,	Lieut. Col. Robert Kirkup.
29th	Ohio,	Maj. Myron T. Wright.
66th	Ohio,	Lieut. Col. Eugene Powell.
28th	Pennsylvania,	Col. John Flynn.
147th	Pennsylvania,	Lieut. Col. John Craig.

Second Brigade.

Col. Patrick H. Jones.

33rd	New Jersey,	Col. George W. Mindil.
119th	New York,	Col. John T. Lockman.
134th	New York,	Lieut. Col. Allan H. Jackson.
154th	New York,	Maj. Lewis D. Warner.
73rd	Pennsylvania,	Maj. Charles C. Cresson.
109th	Pennsylvania,	Capt. Walter G. Dunn.

Third Brigade.

Col. Henry A. Barnum.

60th	New York,	Maj. Thomas Elliott.
102nd	New York,	Lieut. Col. Harvey S. Chatfield.
137th	New York,	Lieut. Col. Koert S. Van Voorhis.
149th	New York,	Maj. Nicholas Grumbach.
29th	Pennsylvania,	Lieut. Col. Samuel M. Zulich.
111th	Pennsylvania,	Lieut. Col. Thomas M. Walker.

Third Division.

Brig. Gen. William T. Ward.

First Brigade.

Col. Franklin C. Smith.

102nd	Illinois,	Maj. Hiland H. Clay.
105th	Illinois,	Maj. Henry D. Brown.
129th	Illinois,	Col. Henry Case.
70th	Indiana,	Lieut. Col. Samuel Merrill.
79th	Ohio,	Lieut. Col. Azariah W. Doan.

Second Brigade.

COL. DANIEL DUSTIN.

33rd Indiana,	Lieut. Col. James E. Burton.
85th Indiana,	Lieut. Col. Alexander B. Crane.
19th Michigan,	Lieut. Col. John J. Baker.
22nd Wisconsin,	Lieut. Col. Edward Bloodgood.

Third Brigade.

COL. SAMUEL ROSS.

20th Connecticut,	Lieut. Col. Philo B. Buckingham.
33rd Massachusetts,	Lieut. Col. Elisha Doane.
136th New York,	Lieut. Col. Lester B. Faulkner.
55th Ohio,	Lieut. Col. Edwin H. Powers.
73rd Ohio,	Lieut. Col. Samuel H. Hurst.
26th Wisconsin,	Lieut. Col. Frederick C. Winkler.

Artillery.

MAJ. JOHN C. REYNOLDS.

1st New York, Battery I,	Capt. Charles E. Winegar.
1st New York, Battery M,	Lieut. Edward P. Newkirk.
1st Ohio, Battery C,	Capt. Marco B. Gary.
Pennsylvania, Battery E,	Capt. Thomas S. Sloan.

Before starting on the march two engineer regiments, assisted by the Second Massachusetts, blew up the buildings at the railway station, including the round-house and machine shops of the Georgia Railroad, and set fire to the wreck. Other shops and foundries that had been employed by the Confederate government in the manufacture of cannon, arms, shells, or other munitions of war were burned. The fire spread to adjoining buildings in the business quarter, and soon the greater part of the city was in flames. As the soldiers of the departing army reached the hills on the eastern side of Atlanta and turned to take a look at the doomed city, it was hidden beneath a dense cloud of smoke through which great tongues of flame shot upward, making an appalling sight that nothing but the exigencies of a stern warfare could justify.

The great march began November fifteenth, the troops moving off at route step with guns at right-shoulder-shift. But few outside of general headquarters knew the destination of the army; the rank and file gave the question little thought. As the movement to Savannah would require twenty-five days, twenty days' rations for

the men and five days' forage for the teams were carried in the wagons. With each division were droves of cattle that supplied additional rations of "beef on the hoof." For the rest, the orders were to "forage liberally on the country."

The distance to Savannah was 305 miles, but it varied considerably according to the route taken by each column. The corps commanders were instructed to march from ten to fifteen miles each day, varying the distance according to the condition of the roads or movement of the trains. As customary, the divisions took turns in the privilege of the advance, the leading division of one day becoming the rear guard on the next. The division having the lead was generally in camp by two in the afternoon, while the one that was last that day seldom reached its place of bivouac until after dark.

The route taken by the Twentieth Corps from Atlanta to Savannah was through Decatur, Stone Mountain, Rockbridge, Social Circle, Madison, Blue Spring, Eatonton, Milledgeville, Sandersville, Tennille, Davisborough, Louisville, Millen, Springfield, and Monteith, crossing on the way the Oconee and Ogeechee Rivers. In accordance with orders, when a division passed through a town the troops closed up, unfurled their flags, and fell into cadenced step, while the bands with their music generally called the attention of the people to the fact that John Brown's soul was marching on.

As the main Confederate army of the West, under General Hood, was absent on the Nashville campaign, the columns encountered but little opposition. Gen. Joe Wheeler remained with a small division of cavalry, and there were bodies of State militia under command of Generals McLaws, Cobb, and G. W. Smith. Frantic proclamations with calls "To Arms" were issued by Beauregard, Senator B. H. Hill, and others, but with little or no avail. Kilpatrick's mounted troops protected the flanks of the marching army, warding off Wheeler's attacks on every occasion, while the Georgia militia fell back everywhere before the advance of Sherman's infantry without firing a shot. But there were bands of mounted guerrillas or Home Guards, squads of partisan rangers, which, in the absence of Kilpatrick's cavalry, hung around the flanks of the Federal columns, picking up stragglers or foragers that wandered too far away from their commands. Aside from occasional skirmishes at some river crossing or outskirts of a town there

was no fighting. The soldiers in the main columns seldom heard a gun. They regarded the march as a grand picnic excursion, and the pleasantest episode of the war.

The story of the campaign as given here is taken mainly from official reports, the admirable sketches in regimental histories, and diaries of comrades.

With the exception of three rainy days in the first week and occasional showers, the weather was fine. The roads were poor most of the way, the rains making them worse; but in Eastern Georgia the sandy highways were improved by the showers and afforded a good footing. Starting at daylight the leading division that day was generally in camp early in the afternoon. Still there was plenty of work to do. Entire brigades were ordered out to destroy the railroad along which it marched, and in the low, swampy districts large details were often sent back to assist the passage of the wagon trains, to construct corduroy roads, or put a shoulder to the wheel whenever necessary.

The destruction of railroads was an important feature of the march. The track was torn up for miles at various places, the ties burned, and the rails, by heating and twisting, rendered unfit for use. Each bridge and culvert along the line of march was destroyed.

The soldiers soon became quite proficient in this peculiar engineering — the reverse of constructive work. The men detailed for it were usually divided into three large gangs, a thousand or so in each. To one party was assigned the work of tearing up the track. For this purpose a long line of soldiers, standing closely together, were placed at one side of the roadbed. With each grasping the end of a tie, at the signal, Hee-yo-hee, they lifted altogether, and turned the track over, bottom side up. Then they went on to the next section marked out for them. Party Number Two busied itself with the piece of overturned track, knocked the ties loose from the rails, and piled them, "cob-house" fashion, ready for burning. The loose rails were placed on top of these piles. Party Number Three, following next, set fire to the ties, heated the rails, and twisted them until they were unserviceable.

In bending a heated rail a clamp and lever were attached to each end. By forcing the lever bars in opposite directions the red hot rail was twisted until even a rolling mill could not fit it for further use. The clamps were made after a pattern specially devised for this

purpose by Col. O. M. Poe, the chief engineer on Sherman's staff. A favorite method of the soldiers consisted in bending a thoroughly heated rail around a tree or telegraph pole, and twisting the ends into an "iron doughnut," as they called it. With this systematic arrangement, as General Slocum states,* a thousand men would destroy five miles of railroad in a day.

On this march Sherman's armies destroyed 60 miles of the Georgia Railroad between Atlanta and Madison, and 140 miles of the Georgia Central from Gordon to Savannah. After reaching the coast they tore up also 50 miles of the Gulf Railroad and 15 miles of the Charleston line.

But the chief delight of the soldiers on this expedition was in the ample and varied supply of food brought in by the foragers. Besides the regular details for foraging the general orders permitted the men "during a halt or camp" to gather vegetables, "and to drive in stock in sight of their camp." As the route for the greater part lay through a good farming region, untraveled before by marching armies of friend or foe, the troops had no difficulty in subsisting upon the country and the best that it afforded. The men lived upon sweet potatoes, hams, fresh pork and mutton, with turkeys and chickens in abundance. At every plantation along the route they found plenty of honey in the hive and, also, quantities of sorghum, a kind of molasses the Northern soldiers had not tasted before. At evening and at daybreak the air about the camp fires was redolent with savory smells, and each soldier shouldered his rifle in the morning or lay down at night with a comfortable, satisfied feeling that he had seldom experienced on a march before.

Forage was so plentiful that the artillery trains and animals in the wagon trains were in better condition on reaching Savannah than at the start. This was due in part, however, to the many horses and mules gathered in along the way, which took the place of weak or disabled teams.

In the course of their foraging the soldiers picked up a variety of pet animals which they carried along in the march — a dog, cat, coon, goat, or diminutive donkey. But the most highly-prized acquisition in this line was a game cock that had good fighting qualities. At evening, when the cooking and eating was over, it was no uncommon thing to see some soldiers form a ring within

* Battles and Leaders. Vol. IV, p. 685. The Century Company: New York. 1888.

which a cocking main was held to determine the relative merits of the birds put forward by batteries or regiments to win the championship of the corps. The defeated rooster was consigned to the mess kettle, while the victorious bird, named after some popular general, rode next day perched on a cannon or on the shoulder of some infantryman.

The negroes, eager to enjoy their new-found freedom and exercise its rights, joined the column in throngs, old and young, men, women and children. From every cross road and plantation on the route they came until their number reached into the thousands. Efforts were made to turn them back and to dissuade them from following the trains; for their presence added to the number to be fed, and threatened to become a serious encumbrance in a fight. At some places on the road the rear guard destroyed bridges to cut off the large throng which was waiting to cross as soon as the troops went by. Despite orders to the contrary the soldiers encouraged the negroes to follow the column. Nearly every officer retained one as a servant, and each mess of the enlisted men took one along as a cook. Many of the able-bodied blacks were employed as teamsters, while large parties of them were utilized in laying corduroy roads, or on other fatigue duty. General Slocum, in his report, estimates that "at least 14,000 of these people joined" the Right Wing at different points on the march. But the old and infirm, and the women carrying children could not keep up, and not over 7,000 accompanied Slocum's army when it reached Savannah.

The Twentieth Corps entered Milledgeville November twenty-third, Carman's Brigade having the lead. The band played the good old Sunday school tune of "Marching Along,"—a popular melody at that time,—flags were unfurled, the ranks closed up, and the men moved through the streets with the easy swing so characteristic of veteran troops. In a few minutes the flag of the One Hundred and Seventh New York was flying from the dome of the State Capitol, greeted by the cheers of the soldiers and the strains of the National anthem by the bands. Slocum appointed Colonel Hawley, Third Wisconsin, post-commandant, and his regiment was detailed as provost-guard of the city. General Sherman occupied the executive mansion, just deserted by Governor Brown; General Slocum, with his staff, established headquarters at the Milledgeville Hotel.

The Georgia Legislature adjourned that day with unfinished business on its calendar. But its seats were soon occupied by a jolly crowd of officers from Slocum's army. They may have lacked the dignity and impressive demeanor of the Southern law makers, but they despatched business and passed important bills at a rapid rate during their short session. General Robinson (Third Brigade, First Division) was chosen Speaker, and Col. "Hi" Rogers, of Slocum's staff, Clerk of the Assembly. A sergeant-at-arms was appointed who did his best to maintain disorder. The Speaker announced a committee on Federal Relations — Colonels Cogswell, Carman, Zulich, Thompson, Watkins, and Ewing — which retired to a committee room. Bryant, the historian of the Third Wisconsin, says that "the sounds of song and laughter that came from that room testified to the zeal of the occupants;" and that "there were evidently refreshments" in that committee room.

During the course of the session some good speeches were made, brilliant and witty; and there was a display of mock gravity, intermingled with "points of order," "Will the gentleman allow me?" etc., to all of which there were bright repartees. General Kilpatrick made the speech of the occasion. When a point of order was raised that he should treat the Speaker before continuing his remarks the doughty general declared the point well taken, and drawing a flask from his pocket took a long drink amid the applause of the House.

The Committee on Federal Relations reported a bill declaring that the ordinance of secession was injudicious, indiscreet, and should be repealed, which was duly passed by a satisfactory vote. The fun becoming fast and furious some of the members rushed into the hall shouting, "The Yankees are coming," whereupon the Legislature adjourned in well-simulated fright and with frantic confusion. General Sherman says in his Memoirs that he "was not present at this frolic, but heard of it at the time and enjoyed the joke." And this was one of the ways Slocum's men enjoyed themselves as they went marching through Georgia.

In wandering through the deserted State House some of the soldiers discovered a large amount of unsigned paper money, or Georgia State scrip, an issue authorized by law and a legal tender. They confiscated it, and although it was absolutely worthless they managed to get some fun out of it. They did not need it to buy supplies; for they took everything they wanted without thought of

payment. So they used it in their poker games, as it was cheaper than the grains of coffee or corn which they had been using for chips. It enabled reckless players to waive the limit and do some of the heaviest betting on record.

The halt of the Twentieth Corps at Milledgeville was short; but it was long enough to enable the Georgia statesman who predicted that grass would grow in the streets of Boston if the South seceded to realize his error. The State Arsenal with its contents was burned, except the powder and ammunition, which was thrown into the river. About 1,500 pounds of tobacco was confiscated by order of Colonel Hawley and distributed among the troops.

The column resumed its march November twenty-fourth and crossing the Oconee River moved southeast in the direction of Sandersville. The roads were good as far as Buffalo Swamp, where the bridges — nine of them — had been destroyed by Wheeler's cavalry. The advance of the Twentieth Corps reached Sandersville on the twenty-sixth, with the First Division in the lead that day. Kilpatrick's mounted troops, supported by the skirmishers of the Second Brigade, drove the Confederate cavalry through the town and some distance beyond. There were losses on both sides; and a regimental historian mentions "a dead Confederate whose body lay on the steps of a church."

The First and Second Divisions reached the Georgia Central Railroad November twenty-seventh, at Tennille Station. A day was spent here in tearing up the track, burning the ties and sleepers, and twisting the heated rails until they were unserviceable. The line was destroyed to within six miles of Davisborough.

Crossing the Ogeechee River and its adjoining swamps, the corps passed through Louisville on December first. The next day the men marched by the empty prison pen at Millen, where 8,000 Union prisoners had been confined. Kilpatrick tried to reach this place in time to liberate them, but the Confederates succeeded in transferring the unfortunate men before they could be rescued. On a plantation near by lay the dead bodies of some bloodhounds, such as were used to track fugitive slaves and escaping prisoners. The soldiers had shot the dogs and then fired the buildings on the plantation where these beasts were found. The handsome railroad building at Millen Station was also burned.

Between Millen and Savannah the route lay for several days

through a grand forest of tall pines. As there was little or no underbrush in these woods, the men marched beneath the trees, over ground thickly strewn with the fallen needles, allowing the trains a free use of the road. The nightly bivouac in these primeval forests afforded interesting and picturesque scenes. Great campfires of resinous wood were blazing everywhere, throwing a ruddy glare on the faces of the soldiers gathered round them, and bringing out in bold relief the outlines of wagons, cannons, or teams, while the dark recesses of the forest seemed blacker than ever by the contrast. Above each fire a dense column of pitchy smoke rose to the tree tops, intermingled with whirling sparks that gave a fine display of fireworks, while to the usual appetizing odors at supper time was added the pleasant, aromatic smell of the burning pine knots. When the rear division, belated as usual, came along to take its place in front, it was escorted through the dark woods by men carrying flaming brands of pitch pine, a sight suggestive of a torch light procession in a political campaign.

Monteith Swamp, fifteen miles from Savannah, was reached December ninth by the Twentieth Corps. The enemy had obstructed the road across the swamp by felling trees across the way, and had constructed two redoubts on the opposite side in which cannon were mounted to command the highway. The First Division attacked promptly — Selfridge's Brigade in front, Carman's on the right, and Robinson's on the left. Advancing under a fire of artillery and musketry, the First and Second Brigades waded through the swamp and prepared for an assault. In the meantime the Third Brigade (Robinson's), having reached dry ground, charged forward and captured the redoubt. The flags of the Thirty-first Wisconsin and Sixty-first Ohio were the first ones planted on the enemy's works.

The next day, December tenth, the Twentieth Corps pushed forward until it reached the four-mile post on the Georgia Central Railroad, where its advance was forced to halt by the defenses of Savannah. The corps went into position immediately, with its left resting on the Savannah River and its right on the railroad, where it connected with the Fourteenth Corps, which was also a part of Slocum's army.

Siege of Savannah.

The march to the sea having ended, Slocum's two corps occupied a line in front of the defenses of Savannah — the Twentieth on the left, the Fourteenth on the right. Howard's troops — Army of the Tennessee — connected with Slocum's right, and extended the line of investment southward to the Ogeechee River. The Twentieth Corps held that portion of the front between the Savannah River and the Georgia Central Railroad, with Jackson's (First) Division in the centre, Geary's on the left, and Ward's on the right. The siege of Savannah commenced, December tenth, with the arrival of Sherman's forces at the coast. Slocum ordered intrenchments thrown up at available points along the front, artillery was placed in position, and preparations were made for carrying the enemy's works by assault.

The city of Savannah was held at this time by about 11,000 troops under command of Lieutenant-General Hardee. One of his divisions was commanded by General McLaws, of Gettysburg fame, who had won distinction under Lee in Virginia and Longstreet at Chickamauga. The defenses of the city consisted of a chain of earthworks and redoubts, fully supplied with guns of heavy calibre. This line of fortifications followed the shores of two swampy creeks, one of which emptied into the Savannah River, the other into the Little Ogeechee. These streams afforded a strong line of defence, as the adjoining country was marshy, or composed of rice fields, most of which were covered by water. The swamps and flooded lands were traversed by three narrow causeways and two railroad embankments, which were commanded by the artillery in the Confederate forts. As the preparations for the assault would require considerable time, Sherman instructed his two army commanders to invest the city closely on the north and west, while he proceeded to open communications with the Federal fleet in Ossabaw Sound.

Slocum placed some of his field artillery on the south bank of the Savannah River where its guns commanded the channel effectively, and prevented any boats from passing up or down. On the tenth a detachment from the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York, under Capt. Henry A. Gildersleeve, captured the Confederate despatch boat *Ida*, and with it Colonel Clinch of General Hardee's staff, a

bearer of despatches. On the approach of the enemy's gunboats the steamer was burned.

On the twelfth two Confederate gunboats, the *Macon* and *Sampson*, accompanied by the steamer *Resolute*, attempted to pass down the river to the city. Winegar's Battery (I, First New York) opened fire on them with its 3-inch rifles, and although the gunboats were armed with rifled cannon of greater calibre they were driven back. The *Resolute* was crippled during the engagement, after which it ran aground on Argyle Island, where it was seized by a company of the Third Wisconsin. The boat was soon repaired and transferred to the Quartermaster's Department.

December thirteenth Fort McAllister, a large earthwork at the mouth of the Ogeechee River, fourteen miles south of the city, was successfully assaulted from the land side by Hazen's Division of the Fifteenth Corps. As a result communication was opened with Admiral Dahlgren's fleet in Ossabaw Sound, supplies for the army were landed, and the investment of Savannah was completed, with the exception of an outlet across the river on the northeast which was protected by the Confederate gunboats in the Savannah River. Dahlgren's vessels could not ascend the river to this point, because the channel below the city had been completely obstructed by driven piles and sunken cribs filled with stone.

On December sixteenth Carman's Brigade (First Division), Twentieth Corps, crossed the Savannah River to Argyle Island, and thence on the nineteenth to the South Carolina shore, where it occupied a position on a rice plantation at Izard's Mill. The ground was traversed by canals, the bridges over which had been burned. The rice fields had been flooded, compelling the troops to advance by the flank along the dikes. A demonstration was made at Clydesdale Creek in the direction of the Savannah and Hardeeville Road, the only avenue of escape left to the beleagured garrison. In its occupancy of Argyle Island and points on the South Carolina shore Carman's Brigade encountered opposition from Wheeler's cavalry, and at times was under fire from a Confederate gunboat, which inflicted some loss with its shells. This cavalry made a determined attack on the nineteenth, which was handsomely repulsed by five companies of the One Hundred and Seventh New York. During the skirmishing which occurred in the withdrawal of the brigade to the Georgia side, Col. John H. Ketcham, One Hundred and Fiftieth New

York, who had rejoined his command the day before, was seriously wounded.

Two regiments from Geary's Division under command of Lieut. Col. Allan H. Jackson, One Hundred and Thirty-fourth New York, occupied Hutchinson Island, a large area of land in the Savannah River below Argyle Island, and near the city. Every day, regularly at high tide, the Confederate gunboats steamed up Back River and shelled these regiments, but with little effect.

On the seventeenth Sherman sent a letter to Hardee demanding the surrender of the city, annnouncing that he had "for some days held and controlled every avenue by which the people and garrison of Savannah" could be supplied, and stating further:

> Should you entertain the proposition, I am prepared to grant liberal terms to the inhabitants and garrison; but should I be forced to resort to assault, or the slower and surer process of starvation, I shall then feel satisfied in resorting to the harshest measures, and shall make little effort to restrain my army.

Hardee declined to surrender, and in his reply said:

> Your statement that you have, for some days, held and controlled every avenue by which the people and garrison can be supplied, is incorrect. I am in free and constant communication with my department.
>
> With respect to the threats in the closing paragraph of your letter (of what may be expected in case your demand is not complied with), I have to say that I have hitherto conducted the military operations intrusted to my direction in strict accordance with the rules of civilized warfare, and I shall deeply regret the adoption of any course by you that may force me to deviate from them in future.

In his claim that the investment of the city was still incomplete, and that he was in free and constant communication with his department, Hardee referred to the Union Causeway or Charleston Road, on the northeast of the city which was still open and afforded, at least, an avenue of escape. General Slocum, who had already established some of his troops on Argyle and Hutchinson Islands above the city, wanted to transfer one of his corps to the South Carolina side of the river and, by placing it across the Charleston Road, prevent the escape of the garrison. But General Sherman preferred instead to secure the co-operation of a division from General Foster's army at Beaufort to effect this purpose. To this end, Sherman made a journey to Hilton Head, leaving orders with

Slocum and Howard to make all possible preparations for an assault, but not to attack during his absence. General Foster promptly agreed to render the desired assistance. But it was too late. When Sherman returned to Savannah on the twenty-second he found that Hardee with his entire command had escaped.

In the meantime General Slocum pressed his siege operations vigorously, although the enemy kept up a steady fire from its artillery and vedettes. Lieut. Charles A. Ahreets (One Hundred and Thirty-fourth New York), Assistant Inspector General of the corps, while reconnoitering the lines was killed by a shot from a party of sharpshooters who occupied the upper story of a house near their outer forts.

Until the capture of Fort McAllister enabled Admiral Dahlgren to send vessels up the Ogeechee there was a scarcity of bread rations, although there was plenty of fresh beef and coffee. But large quantities of rice were gathered from the plantations in the vicinity of the camps, the rice mills were kept at work, and the soldiers reconciled themselves as best they could to this change in their daily bill of fare.

By the seventeenth Geary's men had constructed forts and parallels within 250 yards of the enemy's works, and on the nineteenth General Williams held a conference with his division and brigade commanders in order to formulate plans for a storming column as soon as his heavy guns were ready to open fire. A large number of fascines made of straw, and some of cane, were in readiness for the contemplated assault, to be used in filling the ditches in front of the Confederate parapets and for bridging the canals.

But Hardee's engineers, under cover of their ironclads, laid a pontoon bridge from Savannah to the South Carolina side of the river, and during the night of December twentieth the movement of troops and wagons across this bridge was plainly heard by the troops in Geary's Division and on Argyle Island. While this was going on the artillery in the Confederate forts kept up a heavy fire until midnight, when it ceased. Suspecting an evacuation Geary ordered his pickets forward, and the skirmishers of the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York soon entered the deserted works. Geary's Division, with Barnum's Brigade and the One Hundred and Second New York in the lead, moved along the Augusta road in the darkness of a moonless night and entered Savannah at four-thirty a. m.

On reaching the city limits the column was met by the mayor and a delegation of citizens bearing a flag of truce, from whom General Geary received in the name of his commanding general the formal surrender of the place.

With cheers and songs the White Star veterans marched down West Broad and Bay streets to the City Hall, and at sunrise the flags of the Third Brigade were flying from the balcony of the building. General Geary was appointed Military Governor of Savannah, and Colonel Barnum was designated by him as provost marshal of the western half of the city.

The Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania and Twenty-ninth Ohio of Pardee's (First) Brigade were ordered to take possession of Fort Jackson, which was done without encountering resistance. But when they raised the National colors on the fort the Confederate ironclad *Savannah* threw several shells in that direction. The other gunboats had been burned before the evacuation, and at night the *Savannah* was abandoned and destroyed also.

Generals Sherman and Slocum established their headquarters in the city, but aside from Geary's Division, the troops remained outside in their encampments. In its march from Atlanta to the coast the army had encountered no serious opposition until reaching Savannah; and as the Confederates evacuated the city before the contemplated assault was ordered the casualties during the siege were few.

The losses in Slocum's army during the entire campaign, including both the march from Atlanta and the siege of Savannah, were:

CORPS.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Fourteenth	13	30	94	137
Twentieth	12	88	165	265
Total	25	118	259	402

Savannah was a rich prize. There were 31,000 bales of cotton in its warehouses, and over 250 cannon, mostly sea coast guns of large calibre, in its forts.

The stay of the soldiers at Savannah was a pleasant one. But little duty was required of them, as it was deemed advisable to give

them every opportunity to rest and prepare for the longer and more arduous campaign which was to follow. The Twentieth Corps was reviewed by Generals Sherman and Slocum, the regiments marching into the city for this purpose and passing the reviewing stand, which was located on one of the principal streets in front of the City Exchange. The brigade in Geary's Division, on duty in the city, held dress parades each evening, which attracted large crowds of people who were interested in listening to the music of the brigade bands and seeing these well-drilled veterans go through the manual of arms.

The soldiers in the other two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, which were encamped outside, were granted passes freely to go into the city, where they enjoyed themselves in strolling about the wide, beautiful streets, and talking with the citizens, who as a general rule were courteous and pleasant in their intercourse with the troops. The Pulaski monument was a great attraction, and the Northern soldiers, most of them just out of school, evinced an intelligent interest in the historic events of the Revolution with which the place was associated. On Sundays the sound of the church bells revived the religious feelings of the men, including thoughts of home and scenes of peaceful life. The churches were thronged with soldiers at each service, and the congregations at times were composed almost entirely of uniformed men.

The large amount of mail matter which had been held on the fleet while awaiting Sherman's arrival was delivered, and so considerable time was spent in letter writing. The paymasters having appeared the men indulged in frequent visits to the city, where they patronized the restaurants and hotels freely, and had a good time generally. But Richmond, not Savannah, was their destination, and after a month's rest, there were signs of preparation for another move, indications that the veteran soldier easily interpreted.

The Campaign of the Carolinas.

Historians have not accorded the space to Sherman's operations in the Carolinas which that campaign would warrant. The march to the sea has been celebrated in story and song until it has diverted attention from the greater strategic movements and successful fighting in this final epoch of the war. Sherman says that in relative

importance the campaign in the Carolinas was to the march through Georgia as ten to one.

Owing to the extraordinary high water in the Savannah River and the overflowing of the surrounding lowlands, the start northward was delayed several days beyond the date contemplated. In the general plan of the movement Slocum's army was to keep to the left and west, threatening Augusta, while the Right Wing moved by an easterly route in the direction of Charleston. But Sherman's intentions did not include either city in his line of march. He merely made a feint in the direction of each, compelling the Confederates to divide their forces in an effort to defend both places, to the possession of which they attached an undue importance in view of the circumstances. When the real object of the invading army became apparent the hostile armies had intervened, and it was too late to unite their slender forces in time to intercept them or take up a defensive position at any of the broad rivers that crossed the route.

General Sherman's forces on the Carolina campaign numbered at the start 60,079, effective strength, infantry, cavalry and artillery. The Twentieth Corps at this time reported 13,434, present for duty.

General Slocum turned over the command of the city of Savannah to General Foster, and Geary's Division was relieved, January 19, 1865, by Grover's Division of the Nineteenth Corps. The two other divisions of the Twentieth Corps had crossed into South Carolina and were encamped at Purysburg and Hardeeville. Geary remained in Savannah until the twenty-seventh, when he moved his command up the Georgia side of the river thirty-five miles to Sister's Ferry, the Fourteenth Corps having preceded him to this place. The swollen river and flooded lands prevented a crossing as ordered; but the water having subsided sufficiently Geary's Division crossed, February fourth, and marched to Robertsville, S. C. The First and Third Divisions of the Twentieth Corps had occupied this place on the twenty-ninth and encamped there four days.

The Right Wing left Savannah, January sixth, and proceeded by water transportation to Beaufort, S. C., and thence a few miles inland to Pocotaligo, on the Savannah and Charleston Railroad, where these forces awaited the movement of the Left Wing, a part

of which was delayed at Sister's Ferry. For this reason the march through the Carolinas did not actually commence until February first, by which time all of Sherman's columns were in motion.

Before starting on this campaign, or while it was in progress, some changes occurred in the roster of the Twentieth Corps. Cols. William Hawley (Third Wisconsin), William Cogswell (Second Massachusetts), James L. Selfridge (Forty-sixth Pennsylvania), Ario Pardee, Jr. (Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania), Henry A. Barnum (One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York), Daniel Dustin (One Hundred and Fifth Illinois), and Benjamin Harrison (Seventieth Indiana) were each brevetted brigadier-general in recognition of long service and conspicuous gallantry on many fields. Something of the kind became necessary, for in the previous distribution of commissions to newly-made brigadiers none came to the Twentieth Corps. As a result, eight of its nine brigades were commanded by colonels. The recipients naturally wondered, in view of their long and meritorious service, why their commissions did not confer full rank as brigadier like those issued at Atlanta and Savannah to colonels in other corps, but wisely refrained from any comment at the time. General Williams, commanding the corps, and the three division generals — Jackson, Geary and Ward — were brevetted major-generals, also, in order that their rank might better correspond to the command they held. And, yet, there were no two men in all the Union armies who were better entitled to the full rank of major-general than Williams and Geary.

General Hawley succeeded Colonel Carman* in command of the Second Brigade, First Division, and General Cogswell was transferred to the Third Brigade, Third Division, the others remaining in command of their respective brigades as before. Some of these appointments were received while in Savannah, the others while on the following campaign.

The route traveled by the Twentieth Corps in the campaign of the Carolinas — February 1 to April 13, 1865 — was from Robertsville by way of Lawtonville, Blackville, Allendale, Buford's Bridge, Big and Little Salkehatchie Rivers, Graham's Station, Duncan's Bridge, South and North Forks of Edisto River, Jones's Cross Roads, Columbia Cross Roads, Lexington, Saluda River, Oakville, Broad and Little Rivers, Winnsborough, Catawba River, Hanging

* Colonel Carman, who was on a leave of absence at this time, was brevetted subsequently.

Rock, Chesterfield Court House, Great Pedee River, and Cheraw, in South Carolina; and by way of Fayetteville, Cape Fear River, Averasborough, Black River, Bentonville, Neuse River, Goldsborough, Smithfield, Moccasin Creek, and Swift Creek, to Raleigh, in North Carolina, where the campaign ended, the war being over. During the march General Slocum was obliged to fight a pitched battle with General Hardee's forces at Averasborough, and another general engagement with Gen. Jos. E. Johnston's army at Bentonville, fuller mention of which is made farther on.

The distance traveled, from Savannah to Raleigh, was 527 miles. It was the rainy season in that part of the South, and there was much inclement weather. Including the day on which the First Division crossed the Savannah and moved towards Purysburg, the march from Savannah to Goldsborough lasted sixty-seven days, in twenty-one of which it rained.* The average distance covered each marching day was ten and one-third miles. Owing to the frequent rains the roads were in wretched condition, and were rendered still worse by the passage of the long wagon trains. The infantry, except when in the advance or rear guard, habitually marched alongside of the trains, giving them the road.

The floods in the rivers overflowed their banks, and the swamps were full of water which, in places, covered and concealed every vestige of the roadway. The pontoon trains were long enough to span any stream on the route; but after a bridge was laid it often happened that the men had to wade through water a long distance in order to reach it.

In places where the enemy disputed the crossing of a swamp or stream, the skirmishers in advancing to the attack were obliged to pass through water waist deep, with cartridge boxes hung around their necks to keep their powder dry. Bryant,† in describing the passage of the Salkehatchie, says that the Confederate cavalry had gathered on the north side to keep the Yankees in the swamp, "but by swimming, wading, wallowing, the drenched and muddy veterans emerged like hippopotami from the depths of ooze and brushed away the enemy." At Rivers's Bridge, farther down the stream, the Seventeenth Corps had a sharp fight in which it lost eighty-two killed or wounded.

From Savannah to Goldsborough the trains of the Twentieth

* General Williams's Report. † History of the Third Wisconsin.

Corps moved 456 miles, as recorded by the odometers, three-fifths of which had to be corduroyed. In addition to this arduous task and the labor of lifting wagons that were mired or overturned, the men in the Twentieth destroyed thirty-two miles of railroad along their route. At the beginning of the war such a campaign would have been deemed impossible. But every difficulty was faced with undaunted spirit and every obstacle was quickly overcome. Then, again, there were days when the weather was fine, roads good, and marching pleasant, the bivouac at night recalling the experiences of the march from Atlanta to the sea.

From the Savannah River to the North Edisto the route traversed parts of the Beaufort and Barnwell districts, which are among the wealthiest in the State. Foraging here was good. But between the North Edisto and Saluda Rivers lay a stretch of barren, sandy country, inhabited by "poor whites," and while passing through this region the foragers often returned to camp at night without even a pound of corn meal. From the Saluda on conditions improved in this respect, and full rations were the rule again.

In South Carolina the column passed through places where some of the minor conflicts of the Revolution occurred, and the soldiers discussed, so far as they could remember their school histories, the campaigns of Marion and Sumter, Gates and Greene, Cornwallis and Tarleton.

Charleston was not included in the route of the army. Blockaded at sea, its railroad communications were now cut, and the citizens found it difficult to obtain supplies. Aside from a matter of sentiment the place had ceased to be of importance to either army. General Hardee evacuated the city February eighteenth, and hastened northward with his slender forces to oppose, so far as he could, the onward march of Sherman's armies.

February sixteenth, the Twentieth Corps passed within three miles of Columbia. Slocum's army did not cross the Congaree River, but kept to the west and northward in its march. At night the sky was illuminated by the glare from the burning city, but as none of the Twentieth Corps entered the place the story of that sad event and the persons to blame does not come within the province of this narrative.

Cheraw, S. C., was reached on March sixth, the corps passing through the town with bands playing, men in step, and each regi-

ment marching in column by division. On the previous day a heavy explosion of captured ammunition occurred at Cheraw, which was heard for many miles around. Among the stores seized and ordered destroyed were 3,600 barrels of gunpowder, which were carted to a ravine outside the town and dumped there. Enough of it leaked out along the way to form a train which was ignited by a thoughtless soldier, when it flashed along the ground and exploded the entire mass. Another account says the accident was due to the careless handling of a percussion shell. Several lives were lost, and scarcely a whole pane of glass was left in Cheraw.

The corps arrived March eleventh at Fayetteville, N. C., on the Cape Fear River, an attractive place of about 5,000 inhabitants. The official diary kept at corps headquarters describes the weather at the time as "good and warm." After the cold storms and the marches through mud and water, the soft, mild air of the early southern spring was grateful and invigorating. On Sunday, the twelfth, the whistle of an approaching steamer — a tug boat flying the National Flag — aroused the camps, and its progress up the stream could be traced by the cheering of the men along the shore. The boat came from Wilmington, bringing news from the outside world, the first in six weeks, and enabled the soldiers to send letters home. It returned at evening carrying a large mail and some of the refugees who had followed the army from Columbia and other points. What was more important, it bore despatches from Sherman to General Grant informing the latter of the successful progress of the army thus far.

The large and handsome arsenal, the property of the United States, together with other buildings occupied by the Confederacy were fired and the walls battered down. On the thirteenth the Twentieth Corps entered Fayetteville, each regiment with companies equalized for a review. On reaching the main street the order was given — "By companies into line," flags were unfurled, the bands and drum corps beat off, the men fell into their old time swinging step, and passed under the scrutinizing eyes of Generals Sherman and Slocum, the fine marching of the crack regiments eliciting applause from the crowd of spectators gathered about the reviewing stand. Keeping on through the town, the troops crossed the Cape Fear River on a pontoon bridge and pushed on to their place of bivouac.

When the great pineries of North Carolina were reached, the attention of the soldiers was attracted by the trees that had been scraped and boxed for gathering turpentine. Some of these great pines, dripping with pitch, were set on fire for the fun of the thing. The surrounding forest was soon a roaring mass of flame. The troops had to march on roads bordered with blazing trees, which at night were a grand and, at times, an appalling sight. Traveling through the scorching heat and dense volumes of black, sooty smoke, the men emerged in safety, but with faces and hands so begrimed that they looked like the troops of African descent. On March seventh, the day the troops crossed the North Carolina line, some "bummers" burned the resin and turpentine works of a Mr. Green. The buildings contained, as then reported, over 2,000 barrels of this material, making a huge bonfire that delighted the marauders greatly.

On leaving Savannah the wagon trains carried rations for twenty, and forage for seven, days. As it was impossible to carry enough for so long a march, foraging was an imperative necessity for the success of the campaign. In accordance with the rules of war the army had to subsist on the country. In each regiment a detail of fifty picked men, under command of a commissioned officer, was made for this purpose. Later on brigade details were substituted. If a soldier was guilty of pillaging, or found with any article in his possession other than food or necessary supplies, he was sent back to his regiment and there placed under arrest; at least these were the orders issued in the Twentieth Corps. With the exception of a few days when the column was passing through a wooded region or poor agricultural country, the supplies brought in by these regular foraging parties were ample for the subsistence of the troops. Had the gathering of supplies in the various corps been confined to the operations of the regular details, the brilliant success of the campaign would not have been marred by the stories of pillaging, looting, and house burning, which were only too true.

On February 7, 1865, General Wheeler sent a letter to General Howard in which he made the following proposition:

> I have the honor to propose that if the troops of your command be required to discontinue burning the houses of our citizens I will discontinue burning cotton. I trust that you will not deem it improper for me to ask that you will require the troops under your command to discontinue the wanton destruction of property not necessary to their sustenance.

Sherman relieved Howard from the responsibility of a reply, and sent, over his own name, the following answer to Wheeler:

Yours addressed to General Howard is received by me. I hope you will burn all cotton and save us the trouble. We don't want it, and it has proven a curse to our country. All you don't burn I will. As to private houses occupied by peaceful families, my orders are not to molest or disturb them, and I think my orders are obeyed. Vacant houses being of no use to anybody, I care little about, as the owners have thought them of no use to themselves. I don't want them destroyed, but do not take much care to preserve them.*

In justice to the men of the Twentieth Corps it should be said that they gave but little cause for complaint. The veterans in the command from the Army of the Potomac remained true to the high standard of morale and discipline which characterized them in Virginia, and the new accessions to the corps observed the stringent orders regulating foraging, issued by General Williams. For obtaining subsistence and supplies regular details were made in each division,† in equal proportion from each regiment, "composed of the best soldiers in the command." The force thus formed in each brigade was placed under command of one of its best officers, with a proper number of lieutenants. The soldiers mounted themselves on horses captured from the country, which were subsequently turned in to the quartermaster. The strictest orders were given forbidding the men to pillage and requiring them to confine their foraging to supplies and articles necessary for the troops. The officers commanding them were held responsible for the enforcement of these orders and for keeping their men well in hand. Whenever one of the detail was detected in an unsoldierly act he was dismounted and sent back to the ranks under arrest.

At times it was difficult to restrain men in the corps column from wandering away to forage or pillage on their own account, when they saw it going on elsewhere, unrestrained and unpunished. Doubtless, there were cases in which, despite the orders and restrictions, some individuals were guilty of lawless acts. But, as a whole, the Twentieth Corps maintained an unsullied record on these campaigns.

Mention should be made of the fact that many of the gallant generals in other corps entered written protests, and endeavored faith-

* Official Records, Vol. XLVII, Part II, p. 342.

† See General Geary's report. Official Records, Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 697.

fully to bring about a more honorable condition of affairs. But in the lack of concerted action their efforts were of little avail. General Geary expressed himself in his official report as "satisfied that if a uniform system of discipline and organization among foraging details throughout the army were rendered imperative, these abuses could be prevented." But the efforts of the generals received little support in quarters where they had a right to expect it.

There was more fighting during the movement through the Carolinas than on the March to the Sea. Aside from the general engagements at Averasborough and Bentonville there were several minor affairs — places where the enemy disputed the crossing of streams, or resisted the occupation of the larger towns — in which the aggregate of casualties was large.

In addition to Wheeler's cavalry, the Confederates had the services of two brigades of mounted troops under Gen. Wade Hampton, who had been detached from Lee's army. In fact, Kilpatrick was largely outnumbered in his arm of the service, and it was only by the greatest activity that he covered the left flank of Slocum's army and screened its movements from the observation of the enemy.

The infantry skirmishers of the Twentieth Corps encountered opposition at the very beginning of the march through South Carolina. At Robertsville, January twenty-ninth, the Third Wisconsin (First Division), being in the lead that day, had a sharp fight in which they worsted their opponents and drove them through the town. The losses in the Third Wisconsin in this affair were slight.

Eight miles beyond Robertsville, at Trowell's Farm, Geary's troops found the dead bodies of three Union soldiers, who, as represented, had been captured by a party of Wheeler's cavalry and shot in cold blood. As Trowell was implicated in this outrage — had pointed the unfortunate men out to the cavalrymen — his buildings were burned and he was taken prisoner to await trial as an accessory to the murder.

At Lawtonville, February second, Ward's Division met the enemy one mile from the town, barricaded behind a swamp and with artillery in position. Deploying two of his brigades Ward pushed forward two regiments — One Hundred and Fifth and One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Illinois — and four companies of the Seventieth Indiana, which dislodged the Confederates. Ward's regiments lost

fourteen killed or wounded in this affair. The retreating enemy left several of their dead and wounded behind.

Geary's Division reached the North Edisto River, February twelfth, at Jeffcoat's Bridge where another brisk fight occurred, in which Pardee's Brigade lost three killed and thirteen wounded. Col. John Flynn, Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, was wounded here. On February fifteenth there was lively skirmishing at Congaree Creek, after which Barnum's Brigade, of Geary's Division, drove the Confederate cavalrymen past Lexington and occupied the town.

March second, Selfridge's Brigade, of Jackson's (First) Division, met a party of the enemy, about three p. m., one mile south of Chesterfield. The Fifth Connecticut and One Hundred and Forty-first New York deployed as skirmishers, drove them through the town on the double-quick, and pursued as far as Thompson's Creek, arriving in time to save the bridge which had been fired. Major Reynolds, chief of artillery, Twentieth Corps, placed a battery in position which soon silenced the fire of the enemy's artillery. A few casualties occurred in the Fifth Connecticut. From the statements of prisoners it appeared that Selfridge was confronted here by a brigade of infantry and a strong force of cavalry.

On March eighth a detail of foragers from the One Hundred and Seventh New York, First Division, met a large party of the enemy near Solemn Grove, N. C. As the Confederates were dressed in Federal uniform they were enabled to surround the foragers before the latter unslung their rifles. Lieut. Whitehorne, in command of the detail, refused to surrender, and was cut down by a blow from a cavalry sabre. Maj. Charles J. Fox and Adjutant Benedict of the One Hundred and Seventh, who were riding with the party at this time, drew their sabres, put spurs to their horses, dashed through the enemy's line, ran the gauntlet of their fire, and after a horse race of several miles with their pursuers, reached camp in safety. In this affair the regiment lost one officer and twenty-two men, killed, wounded and captured.

On March fourteenth four regiments of the Third Division, under General Cogswell, made a successful reconnaissance toward Black River, N. C., and three regiments under Lieutenant-Colonel Buckingham, Twentieth Connecticut, toward Silver Run, in which the enemy was encountered in strong force. In the fighting which occurred some losses were sustained, principally in the Fifty-fifth Ohio.

Averasborough.

The campaign had now progressed so far that some serious resistance from the concentrated forces of the enemy was expected daily. The Confederates, aware that either Raleigh or Goldsborough was the objective point of Sherman's armies, were gathering in strong force to intercept Slocum's movements in this direction.

On leaving Fayetteville Slocum was instructed to move a strong column on the road to Averasborough. From the known position of the enemy any serious attack would have to come from the west and against the Left Wing. Slocum accordingly marched four divisions — two from each corps — along this road, accompanied by no more ammunition wagons than were absolutely necessary, while the remaining division of each corps, with the wagon trains, took an interior and safer route farther east.

General Hardee, with a small army composed of the Confederate garrisons from Savannah and Charleston, occupied an intrenched position across the narrow peninsula formed by the Cape Fear and Black Rivers, where he covered the roads leading to Averasborough, Raleigh and Smithfield. Here he expected to check Slocum's advance, or delay him while other preparations were made for a general engagement. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston had been restored to command by the Confederate government, despite the protest of President Davis. He had collected the scattered remnants of Hood's army, and, with other forces placed at his disposal, was effecting a concentration at Smithfield.

On the night of March fifteenth the corps was in bivouac at Bluff Church near Silver Run. General Slocum directed Williams to advance a brigade to the support of Kilpatrick's cavalry which had discovered the enemy in force. Williams ordered Hawley's Brigade of his old division forward on this duty, a night march over the muddiest of roads. The next morning — March sixteenth, the day of the battle — Hawley pushed forward a strong skirmish line and, together with Kilpatrick's dismounted cavalrymen, pressed forward to the line of the enemy's intrenchments.

Williams ordered forward his two divisions and after a march of five miles over a bad road, part of which had to be corduroyed, Ward arrived on the field at nine-thirty a. m. Relieving Hawley, who had been fighting briskly all the morning, Ward formed his

three brigades in line of battle across and to the left of the road. Jackson, with the First Division, then came up and prolonged the line to the right as fast as his brigades arrived on the field, relieving the cavalry, which then massed on the extreme right. Selfridge's Brigade was attacked while going into position by a strong force of the enemy which attempted to turn Jackson's right. But Selfridge repulsed the attack handsomely, and drove the Confederates back into their line of works.

Slocum had now two divisions — six brigades — of the Twentieth Corps on the ground. Geary's Division was absent with the trains. The Fourteenth Corps of Slocum's army was several miles in the rear, its advance impeded by bad roads and various obstacles. As Hardee's force did not outnumber the two divisions of the Twentieth Corps greatly, Slocum decided to continue the attack without waiting for the rest of his command.

Major Reynolds, coming on the field with the corps artillery, placed three batteries in an excellent position on a slight elevation within 500 yards of the works, from which his guns did effective service, blowing up one of the enemy's caissons and inflicting a severe loss among the men and horses.

Case's Brigade, of Ward's Division, having turned the Confederate right flank, charged down the line at a double-quick, an opportunity which was quickly seized by General Williams, who immediately ordered his whole line forward. The Confederates, attacked in front and flank, retreated, leaving two pieces of artillery behind. These guns were abandoned because the battery horses had been killed or disabled during the action. Reynolds promptly turned one of the captured pieces on the flying enemy and expended on them all the ammunition found in the chests of both guns.

Hardee rallied his troops and attempted to make a stand on a second line, but without avail. He was pursued as rapidly as the miry nature of the ground would permit for about a mile, where he was found more strongly intrenched behind a swamp with his flanks protected by the Black River and a small marshy creek tributary to the Cape Fear River. His position covered the Bentonville Road. The Confederate skirmishers were quickly driven into their works, after which Williams pushed his lines up to within a few hundred yards.*

* Gen. Williams's Report.

Slocum ordered Williams to await the arrival of the Fourteenth Corps before assaulting the works, as the enemy evidently outnumbered the two divisions in the attacking force. But the condition of the road was such that General Davis did not arrive on the field with his corps — Fourteenth — until late in the afternoon. As soon as it came up the advance division, Morgan's, formed on Williams's left and joined in the desultory fighting which was still going on. In the meantime a heavy rain was falling, and the assault was deferred until the next day. But when morning came the enemy's works were deserted. Hardee had fallen back to Smithfield and effected a junction with General Johnston.

General Slocum's losses at the battle of Averasborough were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Twentieth Corps	56	378	51	485
Fourteenth Corps -	20	96		116
Cavalry	19	59	3	81
Total	95	533	54	682

The heaviest losses occurred in Hawley's Brigade of Jackson's (First) Division, and in Cogswell's Brigade of Ward's (Third) Division, Twentieth Corps.

Hardee's force in this engagement consisted of the two infantry divisions of McLaws and Taliaferro, and Wheeler's cavalry, in all about 10,500, effective strength.* He made no casualty returns, but stated his loss as "between 400 and 500." General Williams reported the capture of 175 prisoners, 68 of them wounded, and that 128 of the Confederate dead, including 7 officers, were buried on the field.

Averasborough was a minor engagement, one that has no place among the great historic battles of the war; but it was an important and creditable event in the experience of the Twentieth Corps.

The march was resumed on the afternoon of the seventeenth, the

* On March eighteenth General Johnston places Hardee's effective strength at 7,500, infantry and artillery; and in a return dated March twenty-fifth he reports Wheeler's cavalry at 3,074 effectives. [Official Records, Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 1054.]

Third Division of the Twentieth Corps passing through Averasborough, and the First Division moving as far as Black Creek, a few miles only. Slocum's army in making its feint on Raleigh had gone as far as necessary in that direction, and it was turning eastward toward Goldsborough, Sherman's real objective at this stage of the campaign. On the eighteenth the entire Left Wing crossed Black River and, moving on the Bentonville Road, headed for Goldsborough. The two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, advancing beyond Mingo Creek, encamped on Lee's plantation. Although only twelve miles it was a wearisome march; the troops had to corduroy the road almost the entire distance. Still, the weather was good, the spring air deliciously pleasant, and the soldiers noted with pleasure that the peach trees were in bloom again. The next day — March nineteenth — the Fourteenth Corps had the lead, and soon the sound of cannonading ahead announced that the enemy had been encountered.

Bentonville.

Gen. Jos. E. Johnston, having been reinstated in his command February twenty-second, assembled an army at Smithfield and Raleigh, N. C., composed of Stewart's, Cheatham's and S. D. Lee's Corps from his old Army of the Tennessee; Hardee's Corps, which had just retreated from Averasborough; Hoke's Division, which after fighting the battle of Kingston, N. C., had fallen back to Smithfield; and Wade Hampton's cavalry, composed of Wheeler's and Butler's Divisions. Hoke's Division was now under the command of Gen. Braxton Bragg.

It is doubtful if Johnston's combined forces numbered 20,000 effective men. The veteran divisions from the Army of the Tennessee, reduced by the hard fighting of the Atlanta campaign and the battles at Franklin and Nashville under Hood, were little more than skeletons of their former organizations. Many of the famous generals whose names had been associated with these commands had fallen, but their places had been filled by brave and competent officers; and the brigades, though sadly weak in numbers, were composed of men that had been tried in the fire of many battles. The Confederate chief, despite his disparity in numbers, hoped that by a sudden, vigorous attack upon the left wing of Sherman's army he could defeat and scatter it before any supporting column could be sent to its assistance.

On the morning of the nineteenth Slocum's army resumed its march with General Davis's Corps — Fourteenth — still in advance. Its progress was stubbornly resisted from the start. Slocum, trusting to statements made by escaped prisoners and deserters from the enemy, was under the impression that Johnston's main army was still at Raleigh, and that the only force in his front consisted of cavalry with a few pieces of artillery. He pressed forward rapidly, driving everything before him, until he reached the junction of the Smithfield and Goldsborough roads, where he found the enemy in an intrenched position. He then ordered Carlin's and Morgan's Divisions of the Fourteenth Corps to press the enemy closely and force him to develop his line and strength. The troops then deployed, Morgan on the right and Carlin on the left.

Slocum soon saw that he had something in his front more formidable than a division of cavalry. While still in doubt, however, a man was brought to him who stated that he was formerly a Union soldier, had been taken prisoner, and while sick had been induced to enlist in the Confederate service. He did so with the intention of escaping at the first opportunity. This man informed Slocum that General Johnston's entire army was close by; that the Confederate soldiers understood that it was 40,000 strong; and that they were told they were to crush one corps of Sherman's army. He stated further that General Johnston had ridden along his line that morning and had been loudly cheered by his old troops from the Army of the Tennessee. Just then Major Tracy of Slocum's staff approached and recognized in this soldier an old acquaintance who had entered the service with him in 1861 as a private in the same company.* The man's story stood the test of severe questioning, and was confirmed in part by the strong opposition which was beginning to develop along the front of the Fourteenth Corps.

Slocum assumed a defensive position and sent Captain Foraker† of his staff with a message to Sherman informing him of the situation. Foraker had a long, hard ride over roads encumbered by troops and trains, and it was night before he could place the despatch in Sherman's hands; but it was received in time.

As soon as it was evident that he had met the enemy in force Slocum ordered the Twentieth Corps forward at all possible speed

* General Slocum's official report.

† Hon. J. B. Foraker of Ohio, ex-Governor and United States Senator.

to the support of the Fourteenth Corps, which was already actively engaged. Williams was directed to send all his wagons to the right, on the road taken by the Right Wing, and to bring forward without delay every regiment in his command. The foragers were dismounted and placed in the ranks.

Hawley's Brigade of Jackson's Division, the first troops of the Twentieth Corps to arrive, came on the ground about two p. m., and formed line at a right angle with the main road in a piece of woods where it joined the left of the Fourteenth Corps. Robinson's Brigade, following immediately, was assigned a place between two brigades of Carlin's Division, where it filled a gap in the line, and proceeded to throw up breastworks. In the meantime a large body of Confederate infantry had moved past Slocum's left, and were within a mile of the field in which the trains of the Twentieth Corps were parking. Hawley was ordered to change front and move to the left, and two regiments of Robinson's Brigade were sent to reinforce him. While making this movement the enemy fell upon Carlin's left brigade — Buell's — and driving it back in confusion captured three guns of a battery in the Fourteenth Corps. Robinson, unable to check this overwhelming force with his three remaining regiments, withdrew immediately to a new line near the position first occupied by Hawley.

Selfridge's Brigade coming on the field at this time formed in the support of Robinson. Ward's Division arriving, also, prolonged Hawley's line to the left. The Twentieth Corps artillery now came up with horses galloping under the lash, and unlimbered in a position selected by Major Reynolds, where his guns commanded the interval between Hawley's and Robinson's brigades, and the open ground between the first and second lines. The repeated attacks of the enemy were repulsed by the artillery and by an effective cross-fire of infantry from Hawley's right and Robinson's left.

While this fighting was going on, Cogswell's Brigade of Ward's Division was sent to fill another gap in the line of the Fourteenth Corps. In moving to this position Cogswell encountered a column of the enemy on the march to turn the left of Morgan's Division, which he attacked promptly, driving it back, and separating parts of two regiments which were captured by Morgan's troops. Cogswell was hotly engaged until after dark, when Johnston's forces withdrew, leaving many of their dead and wounded on the field.

THE HARPER HOUSE.

General Slocum's headquarters at the battle of Bentonville.

Slocum says in his report that the fighting was most severe in Morgan's front, and that too much credit cannot be awarded General Morgan and his command for their conduct on this occasion.

The battle of Bentonville was over, and Johnston's nicely laid plan was foiled. There was considerable fighting, however, during the next two days. On the following morning — March twentieth — General Geary came up with two brigades of his division, and General Baird — Fourteenth Corps — brought up two brigades also. General Hazen — Fifteenth Corps — arrived with his entire division, having been sent to Slocum's support by General Sherman. Hazen, Morgan, and Baird were ordered to press the enemy closely, and Morgan gained possession of a part of Johnston's line. The next day — twenty-first — Howard arrived with the entire Right Wing, and the Confederates were forced back into their works along the entire line. During the night Johnston retreated across Mill Creek, burning the bridge behind him.

General Sherman having united the two wings of his army, outnumbered Johnston three to one, and if he had wished to do so could have inflicted a signal defeat on the twenty-first. But it would have involved a serious change in the plan of his campaign at this time; his army was not provisioned for the pursuit of a retreating enemy; and so he preferred to continue his march to Goldsborough where Schofield's two corps were awaiting his arrival, after which he could attend to Johnston better in his own time and way.

Bentonville was General Slocum's battle, and the credit of the victory on the nineteenth belongs to him. His total losses in this engagement were:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Fourteenth Corps	130	640	116	886
Twentieth Corps	22	181	55	258
Fifteenth Corps	22	166	2	190
Seventeenth Corps	20	125	48	193
Total	194	1,112	221	1,527

The casualties in the Twentieth Corps occurred almost entirely in Cogswell's and Robinson's Brigades.

General Johnston reported his losses as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Aggregate.
Lee's Corps	55	443	263	761
Stewart's Corps	29	189	5	223
Cheatham's Corps	18	188	37	243
Hardee's Corps	59	319	148	526
Bragg's Division	63	475	202	740
Hampton's Cavalry	15	80	18	113
Total	239	1,694	673	2,606

General Johnston states in his official report that he "took about 15,000 men into action on the nineteenth." He claims that but for the thickets which impeded his movements he would "undoubtedly have beaten the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps before five o'clock;" and that he expected to use his cavalry on Slocum's left, but the character of the country was such that Hampton could not bring it into action.

Leaving the battlefield of Bentonville behind, three more days of marching brought the Twentieth Corps to Goldsborough. The Neuse River was crossed at Cox's Bridge on the twenty-third, and on the twenty-fourth the corps passed through the town, marching in column of review past Sherman, Slocum, Schofield and other distinguished generals who always were interested in seeing the men with the star badge go by. The corps moved on two miles beyond Goldsborough and encamped on the Weldon Railroad. The army remained here for seventeen days, in enjoyment of rest and quiet which was especially grateful to the men after this the longest and hardest campaign in the entire history of the war.

Though the troops were "fat, saucy, and ragged," on their arrival they gladly embraced the opportunity to get clean and draw new clothing. Communication having been opened again, recruits and convalescents joined their respective regiments in large numbers. The history of the Third Wisconsin says that on the ninth of April Lieut. A. S. Fitch, of the One Hundred and Seventh New York, came up in charge of a large number of men. They had marched from Wilmington, a distance of ninety miles, through a

country of dense, pine forests, with few houses or settlements; had suffered for rations; and had been annoyed by the enemy's cavalry. Starting out with three days' rations, they found none on the way, and subsisted for the last two days of their journey on dry, hard corn, which they parched or roasted in the ear. They were tired and hungry when they reached camp, and rejoiced to be with the command once more.

The news that Richmond had fallen reached the camp April sixth, and was received with tumultuous cheers. The men realized that the end of the war was near, and they began to talk of home and muster out.

At Goldsborough Sherman found General Schofield with the Army of the Ohio — Tenth and Twenty-third Corps — awaiting his arrival. Sherman now had three distinct armies, two corps in each, numbering in all 88,948, infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The veterans of the old Twelfth Corps were pleased to note the presence of General Greene who, having recovered from the wound received at Wauhatchie, was now in command of a brigade in the Fourteenth Corps. He received this assignment at Goldsborough, having previously been in command of a provisional division of mixed troops and convalescents in Schofield's army. The men in Hawley's Brigade were also pleased to see General Ruger, their former commander again, who was then in command of a division in the Twenty-third Corps.

General Slocum's army, hitherto known as the Left Wing, was now designated the Army of Georgia. Gen. Joseph A. Mower, a division commander in the Seventeenth Corps, was promoted to the command of the Twentieth Corps, and General Williams was ordered to assume command of his old division.

It is difficult to reconcile this treatment of General Williams with any sense of fairness, honesty, or justice. He was not a graduate of West Point, but he had served with honor in the Mexican war. He had commanded the Twentieth Corps during a portion of the Atlanta campaign, and subsequently from Atlanta to Goldsborough. He commanded the Twelfth Corps with signal ability at Antietam and Gettysburg. As a brigadier general he outranked every officer in that army, and his commission as brigadier bore even date with that of Sherman himself. He commanded the famous "Red Star" Division in the Shenandoah Valley, in the

spring of 1862, and had been at its head throughout the entire war, except when in command of the corps. He had never missed a battle or been absent from the army on any campaign; and on every battlefield where his troops were engaged he had displayed marked ability and had achieved a marked success. Through all his long and brilliant service not an error or mistake had ever been laid to his charge; and now when the war was drawing to its close he was deprived of his command, and his place given to a favorite. But he uttered no word of complaint, made no sign of dissatisfaction, and, loyal to his sense of duty, cheerfully resumed command of the old division with which his name had been so long and honorably associated. Sherman in explanation of this act says in his Memoirs: "I had specially asked for General Mower to command the Twentieth Corps, because I regarded him as one of the boldest and best fighting generals in the whole army. His predecessor, Gen. A. S. Williams, the senior division commander present, had commanded the corps well from Altanta to Goldsborough, and it may have seemed unjust to replace him at this precise moment; but I was resolved to be prepared for a most desperate and, as then expected, a final battle, should it fall on me." An explanation worse than none, but which is submitted to the reader for acceptance at whatever he considers it worth. Sherman might have added, however, that on August 7, 1864, eight months previous, he wrote to General Washburn, at Memphis, Tenn., saying: "Tell General Mower I am pledged to him for his promotion, and if Old Abe don't make good my promise then General Mower may have my place." Sherman discharged the obligation — but at the expense of General Williams.

The Last Shot.

Richmond had fallen, the event was duly celebrated at Goldsborough in army style, and on April tenth Sherman put his armies in motion for Raleigh. There was little prospect of any more serious fighting. With the feeling that the war was over and home in sight it took rare courage for a soldier to face the rifles of the enemy's skirmishers who were trying to delay the advancing columns. The Twentieth Corps, having the lead this day, encountered a cavalry force about six miles from Goldsborough belonging to the First South Carolina and Sixth North Carolina regiments, under Colonel

Black, who were driven across Moccasin Creek, a deep, rapid stream flowing in two channels through a wide morass. The enemy in his flight had removed the planking of the bridge, and had cut a mill-dam a short distance above, swelling the current of the stream and flooding the adjacent swamps. But the skirmishers of the One Hundred and Forty-first New York, Williams's Division, led by Captain Baxter, crossed on the stringers of the dismantled bridge in the face of the enemy's fire and drove the Confederate troopers from their position on the further side of the stream.*

At the same time the One Hundred and Twenty-third New York, under Col. James C. Rogers, crossed and deployed as skirmishers. Advancing rapidly Rogers again developed the line of the enemy, and by a vigorous charge sent the Confederates flying to the rear. In this affair at Moccasin Creek the hardest fighting and greatest losses fell to the lot of the One Hundred and Twenty-third New York. General Selfridge in his official report speaks highly of Colonel Rogers for his gallantry on this occasion, — of "the admirable manner in which he handled his regiment, and for the determination evinced in his driving the enemy from his strong position on the opposite bank of the swamp."† As for the Twentieth Corps, the war was over. The men with the star badge had fired their last shot.

Slocum's army reached Smithfield on the eleventh, and Raleigh on the thirteenth. The weather on the thirteenth was unusually warm, some of the men falling in the ranks overcome by heat or sunstroke. On the twelfth, while near Smithfield, the news of Lee's surrender was received, and the army went wild with frantic joy over the news. The feeling that the war was over, that its dangers and hardships were past, culminated in scenes of excitement and extravagant demonstrations of pleasure. But this was soon followed by the silence and sorrow caused by the news of the assassination of President Lincoln.

The Twentieth Corps remained in Raleigh until the twenty-fifth. In the meantime, on the fourteenth, General Johnston sent a flag of truce into Kilpatrick's lines at Durham Station with a

* For an interesting description of this brave act of Captain Baxter and his men, see Second Annual Report of Mr. Hugh Hastings, State Historian, Albany, N. Y., pp. 95–98.

† Gen. James C. Rogers and Col. Archie E. Baxter delivered the orations at the dedication of the Slocum Monument at Gettysburg, September 20, 1902, meeting on that occasion for the first time since the fight at Moccasin Creek.

message to General Sherman proposing a suspension of hostilities in order to arrange terms of surrender.

On April eighteenth Sherman and Johnston signed an article of agreement embracing the surrender of the latter's army and several other important matters of convention, all of which were forwarded to Washington for approval by the Government, the two armies in the meantime maintaining an attitude of neutrality. But Sherman had exceeded his powers and duties in the matter, by attempting to settle certain important questions of a civil and political nature. The papers were returned with the disapproval of the President, and Sherman was obliged to confine the terms of surrender to those granted by General Grant to General Lee.

On the twenty-sixth another basis of agreement was reached, signed, and approved by General Grant, who had hastened to Raleigh to advise Sherman in regard to the terms which should be made. On the twenty-ninth a general order was read at dress parade directing the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, and Twentieth Corps to proceed to Washington where they would be mustered out of service.

Homeward.

The homeward march began April thirtieth, the troops marching through Raleigh with happy faces, an elastic step, and the bands playing "Home Again." It was ordered that from Raleigh to Richmond the troops should march fifteen miles daily; but with their longing for home and joyous prospects the men stepped off at a pace that placed twenty miles behind them each night, and would gladly have done still more had it been permitted. The distance, 170 miles, was covered in nine days.

May eleventh the Twentieth Corps crossed the James River and marched through Richmond, the route selected enabling the men to pass by Libby Prison, Castle Thunder, and places of historic interest. Without halting any length of time the troops kept on four miles beyond the city, and encamped near Brook Church in a violent thunder storm.

Here orders were issued to continue the march to Alexandria. On the fourteenth the corps encamped on the battlefield of Spotsylvania. The ground was thickly strewn with the skeletons of the unburied Union soldiers, and the men recalled doubtfully the des-

patches read to them while on the Atlanta campaign announcing a victory at this place. Chancellorsville was reached the next day, where a halt of three hours was ordered to give the veterans an opportunity to examine once more the ground where they had fought so well two years before. Marching thence over the same road by which they had retreated in 1863, the column crossed the Rappahannock at United States Ford. The remainder of the march northward lay through familiar places and past old camp grounds that revived memories of the Virginia campaign, nearly every mile recalling some reminiscence or incident of former service on these famous plains. Alexandria was reached May nineteenth. The long march of 1,200 miles from Chattanooga, with all its dangers and hardships, was ended.

Orders were now issued for the final grand review in Washington — the Army of the Potomac on May twenty-third, and Sherman's army on the following day. Each camp revealed a busy scene of preparation. Rifles were burnished, uniforms brushed, shoes cleaned, buttons and brasses polished. The brass guns of the corps artillery were scoured and brightened until they glittered in the sunlight. At an early hour on the morning of the twenty-fourth the Twentieth Corps crossed the Long Bridge and formed near the Capitol. With company fronts carefully equalized each regiment was formed in columns by divisions. At the firing of the signal gun at nine a. m. the vast column was put in motion, and Sherman with his 65,000 veterans moved through Pennsylvania Avenue and past the President and a host of dignitaries on the reviewing stand at the White House.

Slocum with his large and imposing staff, riding at the head of the Army of Georgia, received a continuous ovation throughout the entire route. The Army of Tennessee received generous applause, but the crowd along the avenue, composed largely of soldiers from the Army of the Potomac who had been reviewed the day before, were evidently awaiting eagerly the appearance of the corps that had swung around the grand circle of eleven States. At first sight of General Williams and the men with the old star badge the veterans of the Army of the Potomac sent up a roar of enthusiastic greeting that did not cease its tumultuous volume until the last regiment of the corps had passed. The citizen element along the route joined heartily in the demonstration and added their shouts of

applause as they read on the bullet-scarred flags the historic names of battles that told their story of campaigns both East and West.

The newspaper accounts of the two reviews gave unmeasured praise to the Twentieth Corps, to the fine appearance of the men, and the unsurpassed excellence of their marching. Whole columns were devoted to a history of its campaigns, and to the brilliant military records of Slocum, Williams, Geary, and Ward. It was a proud day for General Slocum and every soldier that wore the good old flannel star.

The history of the Twentieth Corps ends with the Grand Review. There its war-worn regiments formed line and marched together for the last time. As fast as practicable the regiments, having been mustered out, left Washington, and on June 1, 1865, the corps was declared discontinued by general order. As each battalion reached home it was paid off and disbanded. Its flags were furled and the men disappeared in the walks of civil life.

Appendix.

Gettysburg National Park.

Gettysburg National Park.

THE initial action by Congress for the preservation of the lines of battle at Gettysburg, and which foreshadowed the establishment of the Gettysburg National Park, is contained in an item of the Sundry Civil Bill, passed March 3, 1893.

By an act approved March 3, 1873, Congress authorized the Secretary of War to deliver to the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association condemned cannon and cannon balls, "for the purpose of their work of indication of the battlefield of Gettysburg." A contract was made April 25, 1874, by the United States, with Mr. John B. Bachelder, for the preparation and delivery of 3,000 sets of maps, each set consisting of three sheets, showing the position of the Union and Confederate armies July 1, 2, 3, 1863.

By act of Congress, approved June 9, 1880, provision was made for the compilation of all available data used in locating troops on the Engineer's maps of the battle; also, for diagrams showing the movements and positions during the engagement, and for Mr. Bachelder's compensation for services and maps and the manuscript describing the same.

Hon. Daniel S. Lamont, Secretary of War, appointed on May 25, 1893, Lieut. Col. John P. Nicholson, John B. Bachelder and Brig. Gen. W. H. Forney, Battlefield Commissioners. General Forney having died, Maj. William M. Robbins, the latter of the Confederate army, was appointed in March, 1894, to succeed him, and Mr. Bachelder having subsequently died, Maj. Charles A. Richardson was appointed his successor in April, 1895. By section 3 of the act of Congress of February 11, 1895, the commissioners theretofore appointed, and their successors, were placed in charge of the Gettysburg National Park, subject to the supervision and direction of the Secretary of War.

Upon organization, the commission found important lines of battle occupied by an electric railway, the construction of which had been begun early in April, 1893. All efforts to induce the Electric

Railway Company to vacate the lines of battle, in what is known as the Loop, the Devil's Den, and through the Valley of Death, having failed, condemnation proceedings were commenced in the United States Circuit Court at Philadelphia, which decided in an opinion announced on May 29, 1894, that authority had not been distinctly given for the acquisition of such lands as may be necessary to enable the War Department to execute the purposes declared in the act of March, 1893.

In view of this decision and the imminent danger that portions of the battlefield might be irreparably defaced, General Sickles, a member of the Fifty-third Congress, prepared in consultation with Attorney General Olney a joint resolution which he presented in the House of Representatives May 31, 1894, and which was passed on that date and by the Senate on June 2, 1894, receiving the approval of the President June 6, 1894. Acting under the authority given by the statutes and the joint resolution above referred to, the United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, by direction of the Attorney General, renewed the condemnation proceedings. Exceptions to the jury's award were filed by the Gettysburg Electric Railway Company as being inadequate, and it appealed therefrom. The United States also appealed on the ground that the damages were excessive. The point was also made by the railway company that the United States had no right under the Constitution to acquire lands for the purposes of the act, and, therefore, could not invoke the right of eminent domain therefor, even by act of Congress.

An appeal was finally taken on this point to the United States Supreme Court, October Term, 1895. Several extracts from the unanimous opinion of the Court, dated January 27, 1896, and delivered by Mr. Justice Peckham, are given below: —

> The really important question to be determined in these proceedings is whether the use to which the petitioner desires to put the land described in the petitions is of that kind of public use for which the government of the United States is authorized to condemn land.
>
> Upon the question whether the proposed use of this land is a public one, we think there can be no well-founded doubt. And, also, in our judgment, the government has the constitutional power to condemn the land for the proposed use. Any act of Congress which plainly and directly tends to enhance the respect and love of the citizen for the institutions of his country

and to quicken and strengthen his motives to defend them and which is germane to and intimately connected with and appropriate to the exercise of some one or all of the powers granted by Congress, must be valid. This proposed use comes within such description.

The end to be attained by this proposed use as provided for by the act of Congress is legitimate and lies within the scope of the Constitution. The battle of Gettysburg was one of the greatest battles of the world. The numbers contained in the opposing armies were great; the sacrifice of life was dreadful; while the bravery, and, indeed, the heroism, displayed by both the contending forces rank with the highest exhibition of those qualities ever made by man. The importance of the issue involved in the contest, of which this great battle was a part, cannot be overestimated. The existence of the government itself and the perpetuity of our institutions depended upon the result.

Can it be that the government is without power to preserve the land and properly mark out the various sites upon which this struggle took place? Can it not erect the monuments provided for by these acts of Congress or even take possession of the field of battle in the name and for the benefit of all the citizens of the country for the present and for the future? Such a use seems necessarily not only a public use but one so closely connected with the welfare of the Republic itself as to be within the powers granted Congress by the Constitution for the purpose of protecting and preserving the whole country. It would be a great object lesson to all who looked upon the land thus cared for and it would show a proper recognition of the great things that were done there on those momentous days. Such action on the part of Congress touches the heart and comes home to the imagination of every citizen and greatly tends to enhance his love and respect for those institutions for which those heroic sacrifices were made. The greater the love of the citizen for the institutions of his country, the greater is the dependence properly to be placed upon him for their defense in time of necessity, and it is to such men that the country must look for its safety.

Maj. Gen. D. E. Sickles, U. S. A. Chairman of the Gettysburg Monuments Commission of the State of New York, introduced at the third session of the fifty-third Congress, in the House of Representatives, on December 7, 1894, a bill which he had prepared to establish a National Military Park at Gettysburg, Penn.

The boundaries of the various contiguous parcels and connecting avenues of the Park were selected and laid out on a map of the field by A. J. Zabriskie, civil engineer, under the direction of General Sickles, and embraced lines which were occupied by the infantry, artillery and cavalry on the 1st, 2d and 3d days of

July, 1863, and other adjacent lands that were considered necessary to preserve important topographical features. This map, with the acreage of the various parcels indicated thereon, was filed in the office of the Secretary of War.

Provision was made in the bill for the transfer of the land belonging to the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, together with all rights of way for avenues and all improvements made by the Association, to the United States.

The eighth section of the bill provided for the erection of a suitable bronze tablet, containing the address delivered by President Lincoln on November 19, 1863, on the occasion of the dedication of the National Cemetery. Section 2 stipulated that the lands conveyed to the United States, and such other lands on the battlefield as the United States may acquire, should be known as the Gettysburg National Park. This bill, amended in minor particulars only, became a law by the approval of President Cleveland, February 11, 1895.

In accordance with the provisions of this act the Board of Directors of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association met at Gettysburg on May 22, 1895, and passed a resolution directing the Vice-President as Acting President of the Association and the Secretary to execute and deliver a deed of conveyance of the lands of the Association to the United States upon the payment by the United States of the indebtedness of the Association to an amount not exceeding two thousand dollars ($2,000). Such deed was thereafter, on the 4th day of February, 1896, duly executed and delivered, and the indebtedness, amounting to $1,960.46, was duly paid. The total receipts of the Association, from its organization in 1864 to 1895, were $106,575.59.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania, by an act approved June 26, 1895, ceded jurisdiction of that commonwealth over certain public roads within the limits of the Park to the United States, subject to certain reservations as to the execution of civil and criminal processes thereon and as to offenses committed thereon against the criminal laws of the commonwealth.

By an act approved June 10, 1896, Congress authorized the Secretary of War from time to time to accept and improve such of these roads as he may in his jurisdiction judge proper.

The positions of the various regiments and batteries of the Union

Army were mostly determined by the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association in conference with commissions from the several States having commands on that field, assisted by survivors of the respective organizations, who visited the field in large numbers when the work of the Association and that of these commissioners was in active progress. The duty of locating and fixing on the ground the positions and evolutions of the Confederate Army devolved upon the National Commission, who have given much attention thereto and in which they have received the aid of many Confederate soldiers who have visited Gettysburg at the request of the Commission to point out positions, which are marked tentatively by iron tablets with suitable inscriptions. It is hoped that they will soon be replaced with tablets of granite and bronze.

The National Commission have likewise marked the positions of the United States regular troops in this battle, consisting of eleven regiments of infantry, four regiments of cavalry, twenty-six batteries of artillery, and one battalion of engineers. By act of Congress, approved February 18, 1903, provision has been made to erect monuments to these troops and the sum of sixty-one thousand five hundred ($61,500) dollars has been appropriated therefor.

Union and Confederate battery positions are marked by two or more guns to each battery of the same class and calibre as those which constituted the battery. The guns are mounted on substantial iron carriages set upon granite blocks.

There have also been erected on the roads leading from Gettysburg, twelve in all, tablets of iron giving the distance to neighboring towns and villages more or less connected with the story of the battle. Itinerary tablets for the Army of the Potomac have been erected on Cemetery Hill and at the towns and villages within a day's march of Gettysburg, through which the Union forces passed, with inscriptions setting forth the movements of the several corps, divisions and minor bodies of troops constituting the Union Army on the days immediately before and after the battle, and giving the day and hour of such movements respectively. Similar tablets have been erected on West Confederate Avenue, setting forth in like manner the movements during the same period of the several bodies of troops comprising the Confederate Army. Tablets bearing the same inscription will probably be placed at the appropriate points from which the army marched to Gettysburg.

Gettysburg National Park

There have been erected by the National Commission on the Gettysburg battlefield and the approaches thereto 450 tablets, as follows: 30 Union battery tablets; 4 Union artillery and 10 Union infantry tablets to the United States Regulars; 17 itinerary tablets indicating the direction and distances on the roads radiating from Gettysburg; 2 tablets indicating the movements of the Second and Third Confederate Corps; 11 Confederate artillery battalion tablets; 52 Confederate battery tablets; 32 Confederate brigade tablets; 10 Confederate itinerary tablets on West Confederate Avenue; and 279 tablets for other purposes; 319 guns have been mounted on substantial iron carriages; 305 stones mounted with 10 and 13-inch shells have been substantially set up for various purposes on the field, particularly to protect the curves on the avenues.

The restoration and preservation of the features of the battlefield, as they existed at the time of the battle, are matters that have received close attention, and much work has been and is being done in the repairing and rebuilding of stone fences and walls which served as important military defenses, the restoration and preservation of buildings, and the renewal of forests where they have been cut away since the battle.

Five regularly employed guards or watchmen are on the battlefield to prevent desecration and injury by thoughtless or mischievous visitors.

Five steel towers have been constructed for purposes of observation. There is one on the summit of Big Round Top, sixty feet high; another on Seminary Ridge near the junction of West Confederate Avenue with the Wheatfield Road, seventy-five feet high; also one the same height on Oak Ridge near the Mummasburg Road; the fourth, on the summit of Culp's Hill, is sixty feet high; and the last one erected is in Ziegler's Grove near the Bryan House, and is seventy-five feet high.

Pursuant to act of Congress of February 11, 1895, hereinbefore referred to, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association transferred by deed of conveyance to the United States all the lands belonging to the Association — an aggregate of 522.25 acres — and there has since been acquired by the National Commission, in plots ranging in size from .002 of an acre to 161 acres, the largest single purchase, an aggregate of 827 acres. Summarizing the foregoing, it will be seen that the United States now owns and controls 1,349 acres.

Gettysburg National Park

The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, which was the immediate predecessor of the National Commission, laid out and constructed driveways along the principal lines of battle of the several corps of the Union Army; these driveways were earth roads, whose condition depended, in locations where the soil was of a clayey nature, upon the character of the weather. Upon the passage of the control to the National Government, steps were immediately taken for the improvement of these driveways and the placing of them in such condition as to make their designation as avenues an appropriate name at all times. The National Commission, after consideration and study of the subject, adopted the Telford system as promising the best results in solidity and durability. The stone used is Syenitic granite and ironstone.

The main avenues follow the battle formations of the several corps of both armies, and are designated along the Union lines by the names of the respective corps commanders; sections are in certain instances designated by the names of the commanders of divisions that occupied the respective portions of the line. The avenues along the Confederate lines have thus far been known only by their geographical location on the field, such as West Confederate Avenue on Seminary Ridge, East Confederate Avenue along the southerly base of Culp's Hill, etc. The Telford avenues thus far completed aggregate 20 miles in length.

The appropriations by Congress available for the preservation and establishment and maintenance of the Park have aggregated the sum of $655,922.50 to date.